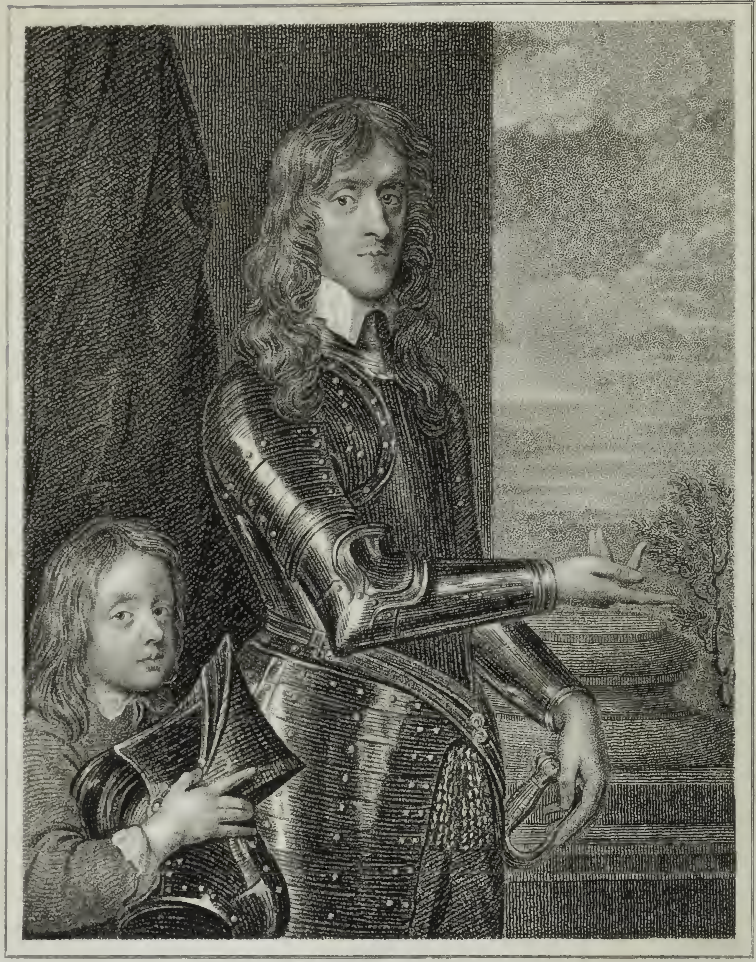
E L Nettleton

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2014

https://archive.org/details/memoirsoflifeofc00hutc_0



Freeman sculp.t

Colonel Hutchinson

Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, & Orme, Paternoster Row, Jan.y 1, 1810.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE OF COLONEL HUTCHINSON,

GOVERNOR OF NOTTINGHAM CASTLE AND TOWN,

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COUNTY OF NOTTINGHAM IN THE
LONG PARLIAMENT, AND OF THE TOWN OF NOTTINGHAM IN THE FIRST PARLIAMENT
OF CHARLES II. ETC.

WITH

ORIGINAL ANECDOTES

OF MANY OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES,

AND

A Summary Review of Public Affairs:

WRITTEN BY

HIS WIDOW LUCY,

DAUGHTER OF SIR ALLEN APSLEY, LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER, ETC.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

By the Rev. JULIUS HUTCHINSON.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

THE LIFE OF MRS. HUTCHINSON,

WRITTEN BY HERSELF,

A FRAGMENT.

VOL. I.

FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.
1822.

LONDON:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

[illegible]

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

GEORGE, PRINCE OF WALES,

THESE MEMOIRS

ARE,

WITH PERMISSION,

HUMBLY DEDICATED,

IN TESTIMONY OF

RESPECT FOR HIS EXALTED CHARACTER,

AND OF GRATITUDE FOR

HIS PAST AND PRESENT CONDESCENSIONS,

BY HIS MOST OBEDIENT,

AND DEVOTED SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD EDITION.

THE Editor of this work, after having seen two pretty large impressions of it in quarto, speedily absorbed by the public curiosity and taste, having received the applause and thanks of nearly all the most respectable [a] Reviewers, and been called upon by several of them to produce it in a form better suited to the convenience of the generality of readers, comes forward with pleasure, and even exultation, to comply with this demand, by the publication of an octavo edition. But it is hoped that a discerning public will perceive that his veneration for those who are the subjects of the history, and the liberality of that respectable house who are the publishers, have led them to study an elegant rather than a sordid œconomy; fresh and highly finished embellishments and a new type being given. By both the editor and the publishers the point of interest has been considered as secondary to the satisfaction and credit of giving to the community, at a convenient price, a work which, while it gratifies curiosity, communicates information, and delights the taste, exhibits the human character, and especially the British, at the highest pitch of excellence, which reason and nature admit; yet shews such a plain and open path to the attainment of that excellence, as may inspire all with the hope and the desire of reaching it themselves.

---

[a] Censura Literaria, Annual, Monthly, Critical, Eclectic, Oxford, Political, and Edinburgh Reviews.

The consideration that the book will now be likely to get into the hands of the middle classes of society, would make it peculiarly improper to follow the admonitions of two reviewers; which were, to garble and take out of it a large part, in which persons are made to figure certainly somewhat below that *heroic stature*, which some deem necessary to the dignity of history, but which no one would esteem below the standard of biography.

It would indeed require more than an ordinary degree of credulity to believe that they advised with the *best good faith*, for though both have yielded full, though apparently rather reluctant, homage to Mrs. Hutchinson's merits, yet the first, the Critical Reviewer, assailed the editor with a good deal of coarse sarcasm; and, in order to prove that he was guilty of faulty punctuation, extracted pretty large quotations, in which so considerable a variation was made from the original words as totally to alter the sense. The second, the Edinburgh Reviewer, after waiting, *certainly to give a mature opinion,* till the whole of one large edition, and the half of a second, were sold, recognized the talent of the writer and the value of the history; but attacked the editor with a malignity and injustice, which fortunately were neutralized by their absurdity, accusing him of garnishing the text with notes that are incongruous, in order to obtain preferment; evidently in total ignorance of his age and situation, and to the no small amusement of those who know both. But these notes the reviewer was forced to feign, because he could not find them; in the same manner as he has done sentiments which he attributes to the author, whom he in vain endeavours to make speak the language of his party; the very inverse of which is therefore noticed at page 7, note [b], of this edition.

The same writer, with equal consistency, recommends the omitting many pages which, in his vulgar phrase, he says, treat of *parish business*; yet from these very pages quotes some of the best and most brilliant passages in the work. It has then been determined to present the whole again before an approving public, unmutilated and unchanged; retaining even the original preface, because the very judicious writer of the Monthly Review, although he considers it as needlessly apologetic, still admits it to give a candid view of the narrative, and of the work in general; for which reason, and for the sake of the collateral and ulterior information which it contains respecting persons and things mentioned in the story, it will probably accompany all future editions. All the industry of the editor having been exerted to obtain correctness and give information or illustration in the two former editions, he must acknowledge it to be out of his power to give any fresh amelioration to this; he therefore concludes, with expressing a confident hope, that in their present or a similar dress, the writings of Mrs. Hutchinson will, long after he has ceased to be conscious of the satisfaction arising from it, continue to do honour to his country, and to benefit the hearts and the heads of his countrymen.

PREFACE.

It is conceived to be necessary, for the satisfaction of the Public, to prefix to this work some account of the Manuscripts from which it has been printed, and of the manner in which they came into the hands of the Editor; which we shall accordingly do, interweaving therewith such subsequent information as we have been able to collect respecting the families and descendants of Colonel and Mrs. Hutchinson.

The Memoirs of the Life of Col. Hutchinson had been seen by many persons, as well as the editor, in the possession of the late Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. of Owthorpe, in Nottinghamshire, and of Hatfield Woodhall, in Hertfordshire; and he had been frequently solicited to permit them to be published, particularly by the late Mrs. Catharine Maccaulay, but had uniformly refused. This gentleman dying without issue, the editor, his nephew, inherited some part of his estates, which were left unsold, including his mansion-house of Hatfield Woodhall. In the library he found the following books, written by Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson. 1st. The Life of Col. Hutchinson. 2d. A book without a title, but which appears to have been a kind of diary which she had kept, and afterwards made use of when she came to write the Life of Colonel Hutchinson. 3d. A Fragment, giving an account of the early part of her own life. This book clearly appears to have been Mrs. Hutchinson's first essay at composition, and contains, besides the story of her life and family, several short copies of verses, some finished, some unfinished, many of which are above mediocrity. And, 4th, Two Books treating entirely of religious subjects; in which, although the fancy may be rather too much indulged, the judgment still maintains the ascendancy; and sentiments of exalted piety, liberality, and benevolence are delivered in terms apposite, dignified, and perspicuous.

These works had all been read, and marked in several places with his initials, by Julius Hutchinson, Esq. of Owthorpe, the father of the late Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. just mentioned, and son of Charles Hutchinson, Esq. of Owthorpe, only son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson by his second wife, the Lady Catharine Stanhope. Lady Catharine Hutchinson lived to the age of 102, and is reported to have retained her faculties to the end of her [a] life. Some remarks made by the above-mentioned Julius Hutchinson, which will be found in their proper places in the body of the work, are declared by him to have been communicated by his grandmother, Lady Catharine;

---

[a] The editor has a very fine portrait of her, taken at the age of 90.

and as this lady dwelt in splendor at Nottingham, and had ample means of information; as there is only one instance wherein the veracity of the biographer is at all called in question, and even in this, it does not appear to the editor, and probably may not to the reader, that there was sufficient ground for objection; the opposition and the acquiescence of her grandson and herself seem alike to confirm the authenticity and faithfulness of the narrative.

There will be found annexed a pedigree of the family of Hutchinson, taken from a very handsomely emblazoned genealogy in the possession of the editor, originally traced by Henry St. George, King of Arms, continued and embellished by Thomas Brand, Esq. his majesty's writer and embellisher of letters to the eastern princess, anno 1712, and brought down to the present day from family records.

This pedigree shews that Col. Hutchinson left four sons, of which the youngest only, John, left issue two sons; and there is a tradition in the family, that these two last descendants of Col. Hutchinson emigrated, the one to the West Indies or America, the other to Russia; the latter is said to have gone out with the command of a ship of war given by Queen Anne to the Czar Peter, and to have been lost at sea. One of the female descendants of the former the editor once met with by accident at Portsmouth, and she spoke with great warmth of the veneration in which his descendants in the new world held the memory of their ancestor Col. Hutchinson. Of the daughters little more is known than that Mrs. Hutchinson, addressing one of her books of devotion to her daughter Mrs. Orgill, ascertains that one of them was married to a gentleman of that name.

The family of Mr. George Hutchinson, likewise became extinct in the second generation.

Charles Hutchinson, only son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson by Lady Catharine Stanhope, married one of the daughters and coheiresses of Sir Francis Boteler, of Hatfield Woodhall, Herts; which family being zealous royalists, and he solicitous to gain their favour, (which he did so effectually, as in the end to obtain nearly their whole inheritance), it is probable that he gave small encouragement or assistance to the elder branch of the family while they suffered for their republican sentiments; on the contrary, it is certain that he purchased of Mrs. Hutchinson and her son, after the death of Col. Hutchinson, their estate at Owthorpe, which joined to what his father had given him, and what he obtained by his marriage, raised him to more opulence than his father had ever possessed; and he seems not to have fallen short of him in popularity, for he represented the town of Nottingham in parliament from the year 1690, (being the first general election after the accession of King William), till his death.

His son Julius returned into that line of conduct and connections which was most natural for one of his descent, for he married Betty, daughter of Col. Norton of Wellow, of the well-known patriotic family of that name in Hampshire, and whose mother was a Fiennes. He seems to have bestowed a very rational and well-deserved attention upon the writings of Mrs. Hutchinson, and there is a tradition in the family, that although he had many children of his own, he treated with kindness and liberality the last descendants of his uncle, and assisted them with money to fit them out for their emigration. The editor has seen a written memorandum of his, expressing his regret at hearing no more of them after their departure.

From the circumstance of these, the only grandchildren of Col. Hutchinson, standing in need of this pecuniary assistance, from the mention Mrs. Hutchinson makes of her husband's debts, and from an expression contained in that book which she addresses to her daughter Mrs. Orgill, desiring her not to despise her advice, though she sees her in adversity, it is highly probable that, even after selling her husband's estates, the sum to be divided left each member of the family in strait circumstances.

The affection and well-merited esteem with which Mrs. Hutchinson speaks of her brother, Sir Allen Apsley, will excite an interest in the reader to know what became of him and his posterity: the short pedigree subjoined will shew, that by two marriages, and by the death of his grandson in his minority, the family of Apsley entirely merged in the noble family of Bathurst, who have adopted the name Apsley as their second title; there are five or six of the family of Apsley entombed in Westminster Abbey, near to the entrance of Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

Having traced the manuscript from the hands of the writer to those of the editor, in such a manner as to establish its authenticity beyond all doubt; the next, and that not a less important point, is to remove those objections which may be raised against the tendency of a work of this nature, and to shew that the assumption of any evil tendency is groundless.

That avowed predilection for a republican government, which is conspicuous in this history, as it was in the lives of the persons who are the principal subjects of it, may perhaps give a momentary alarum; but a little reflection will dissipate it. At the time when Col. Hutchinson first entered on the great theatre of life, the contest was just begun between the partizans of the divine right of the sovereign, and the indispensable obligation of the subject to passive obedience and non-resistance, on one side; and the assertors of the claims of the people to command, through their representatives, the public purse, of the freedom of debate in parliament, and of the responsibility of ministers, on the other. When the sword, the *Ratio Ultima Regum*, the *last appeal of kings*, was resorted to by the former, and the latter gained the victory, they very naturally adopted the republican system, as concluding, that persons holding such opinions as the princes of the House of Stuart and their adherents did, would never concede to them their franchises, but with a full intention to resume them, whenever they should recover power enough to attempt it with success. The event fully justified this[b] conclusion, and it is now evident to all, that the only thing which could ever give this nation permanent tranquillity, and put an end to those heartburnings which either openly or covertly had existed even from the time of the Norman conquest, was an explicit compact between king and people, which took its date indeed from the revolution in 1688, but obtained its consummation at the fortunate accession of the house of Brunswick, when the title of the monarch, and the rights of the people, became identified and established on one common basis. Of this truly may be said,

Quod optanti Divum permittere nemo
Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultrò.
What to his vot'ry not a God dared promise,
Revolving years spontaneously produc'd.

---

[b] In the reigns of Charles II. and James II.

No one will pretend that such an occasion was within the reach of human foresight; of course the only remedy then attainable was applied to the disorder of the state. Upon a fair review of the contest it will be seen that what the Tory and the Courtier of the present day, the friend or even the flatterer of kingly power, admits as axioms, were the grand desiderata of the Whig and the Patriot of those times, and that what were then cried out upon as daring encroachments now pass as the most moderate and unquestioned claims. Not to deceive ourselves then with words, nor attach our minds to names instead of things, although the government under which we prosper be termed Imperial; yet the greater part of the legislative power resting with the people and the executive being vested in a chief magistrate, who is under so many limitations that he seems placed in that situation very much more for the common weal, the public benefit, than his own ease or advantage, it must be allowed to come up to Col. Hutchinson's favourite idea of a republic for all beneficial purposes, and would assuredly be not less acceptable to him, for that the hereditary succession would be found to repress that effervescence of individual ambition which it was the study and the labour of his life to keep down. Possessing himself, but finding not in others, the virtue worthy of and essential to a republic, he would gladly have taken shelter under a well-limited monarchy, and of such a one he would unquestionably have been a loyal subject, a vigorous assertor.

The Puritanism which appears in the story, and actuated the conduct of Col. Hutchinson all through life, may be accounted for on almost a similar ground with his predilection for a republic.

The puritanic turn of thought and style of expression had been adopted by the vindicators of religious freedom and right of inquiry, with whom the champions of civil liberty naturally made common cause. Divinity as a science was a study then in vogue, and seems to have tinctured the conversations and writings of the greater part of society.[c] In this Mr. Hutchinson had been encouraged by his father, whose library subsisted at his family seat of Owthorpe till about the year 1755, and contained a vast number of folio volumes of polemical divinity. A study environed with many dangers! and which led Col. Hutchinson into whatever errors he was guilty of. On another hand, the ministers of the established church in those times preached up the prerogative in all its extravagance, and endeavoured to establish jointly and inseparably implicit faith in, and unqualified obedience to, the church and king (still giving the church the precedency); whilst the laymen of their party practised, and even professed, a total dissoluteness of life: so that those who were slaves in principle were libertines in practice; while those who were deemed rebels by the court, and latitudinarians by the hierarchy, were rigorists in religion and morality.

---

[c] From the practice of dragging religion, or religious phraseology, into the service of politics, none, not even the king, was exempt, who, making a speech to his small army in the year 1642, to animate them, tells them they will have none to encounter but rebels, most of them *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and *Atheists !* who would destroy both church and commonwealth.

This contrariety produced a constant and incessant opposition, augmented the vehemence of antipathy, fortified prejudice, and seemed almost to justify bigotry.[d] But from this (bigotry) we are bound to exculpate Col. Hutchinson. The Independents, to whose party, if a man of so much candour and liberality can be said to be of any party, he belonged, proceeded upon that principle, which, how general soever it ought to be, is however unfortunately very uncommon, of allowing to all that liberty of conscience they demanded for themselves. Accordingly they began by desiring only an act[e] to be passed "for taking away all coercive power, authority,

---

[d] The flower of the French democrats avoided all such inconsistency and paradox by discarding at once their king, their God, and their morality.

[e] Articles of the army, Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 731.

"and jurisdiction, from bishops, extending to "civil penalties, &c." It was not till after they saw the extreme pertinaciousness of the king to retain the bishops as instruments at a future opportunity for remounting his system of arbitrary sway, and that "the prelatical party about him "prevailed with him to refuse an accommodation, "and hazard his crown and life, rather than diminish their greatness and power to persecute "others," that they insisted on the abolition of the order.[f] It was quite a different party, that of the rigid Presbyterians, and peculiarly their ministers, "who cried out against the tyranny "of the bishops only that they might get the "power into their own hands, and, without the "name, might exercise the authority[g] of popes." That, instead of this power being irrevocably and immoveably established over us, we are now governed by the mildest church discipline in the universe, we owe to these Independents! Col. Hutchinson in particular, if he had lived in times like ours, "when bishops and ministers desire "only to be helpers,[h] not lords over the con-

---

[f] The words of Whitelock, p. 340. where he regrets that the king's chaplains prevailed with him beyond the parliament's commissioners or his own judgment.

[g] Vide Letter of Irving, laird of Drum, and his appeal to Col. Overton; Whitelock, p. 526.

[h] Words of Cromwell in his letter to Scots ministers, Whitelock, p. 473.

"sciences of God's people," would either have been a conforming member of the church of England, or at most have only dissented from it in few things, and that with modesty and moderation. For it is well worthy of notice, that after having suffered provocation and persecution from catholic, episcopalian, and presbyterian, when power came into his own hands, he treated all with lenity, and to the worthy persons of all sects and parties extended his protection.

We have next to consider a part of the conduct of Col. Hutchinson which will be the most generally blamed, and is the least capable of defence, the condemnation of Charles the First. To speak of the justice of such a measure in a legal point of view would be a mockery; nothing but the breaking up of the very foundations of the state, and a war of its elements, could let in the possibility of such a procedure. Amidst the tempest and darkness which then involved the whole political horizon, it savours of presumption to decide what measures were right, expedient, or even necessary: this much alone may safely be asserted, that the king and his friends during the contest, and still more after it was virtually ended by the battle of Naseby, maintained such a conduct as rendered his destruction inevitable; but the remark of Whitelock, p. 363, seems no less just than ingenious; "that such an irregular and "unheard of business should have been left to

“ that irregular set of men, the army, who urged “ it on.” They however were determined to throw the odium on others, or at least draw others in to share it.

Be it as it may, though some may blame, many more will pity, a man such as Col. Hutchinson, who found or conceived himself reduced to the cruel alternative of permitting all that system of liberty, civil and religious, to the establishment of which he had devoted all his faculties, and was ready to sacrifice his existence, to be risqued upon the good faith of a man whose misfortune it was (to say no worse) to be environed by designing and ambitious persons, who rendered all his virtues abortive, and made all afraid to trust him, or of signing a sentence which has since been called a murder, and the undergoing it a martyrdom ! At any rate it would be highly ungracious and ungrateful in us, while we enjoy in our well-balanced constitution the benefits derived to us from the virtue, the energy, the sufferings, and even the faults of our ancestors, to pass a severe censure on their conduct ; for it will hardly be denied that the remembrance of his father’s fate influenced James the Second to yield so easy and bloodless a victory to his opponents, and leave them to settle the constitution amidst calm and sober councils. On the contrary, we are bound to ascribe many of the oversights of those first founders of our liberties to a precipitancy forced on them by urgent circumstances, to cast a veil over their imperfections, and cherish their memory with thankfulness.

So much having been said for the purpose of obviating misapprehension as to the effect of this work, it may be further expected that some merit or utility should be shewn, to justify the Editor in presenting it to the public notice. Being not the child of his brain and fancy, but of his adoption and judgment, he may be supposed to view it with so much the less partiality, and allowed to speak of it with so much the more freedom.

The only ends for which any book can reasonably be published are to inform, to amuse, or to improve: but unless many persons of highly reputed judgment are mistaken as well as ourselves, this work will be found to attain all three of them. In point of amusement, perhaps novelty or curiosity holds the foremost rank; and surely we risque little in saying that a history of a period the most remarkable in the British annals, written one hundred and fifty years ago by a lady of elevated birth, of a most comprehensive and highly cultivated mind, herself a witness of many of the scenes she describes, and active in several of them, is a literary curiosity of no mean sort.

As to information, although there are many histories of the same period, there is not one that is generally esteemed satisfactory; most of them carry evident marks of prejudice or partiality; nor were any of those which are now read written at or near the time, or by persons who had an opportunity of being well acquainted with what was passing, except that of Clarendon. But any one who should take the pains, which the editor has done, to examine Clarendon's State Papers, would find therein documents much better calculated to support Mrs. Hutchinson's representation of affairs than that which he himself has given. Mrs. Hutchinson writing from a motive which will very seldom be found to induce any one to take so much trouble, that of giving her children, and especially her eldest son, then about to enter on the stage of life, a true notion of those eventful scenes which had just been passing before her eyes, and which she well judged must be followed by others not less interesting to the same cause and persons, will surely be thought to have possessed both the means and the inclination to paint with truth and correctness: in effect she will be seen to exhibit such a faithful, natural, and lively picture of the public mind and manners, taken sometimes in larger, sometimes in smaller groups, as will give a more satisfactory view to an observant reader, than he will any where else discover. He will be further pleased to see avoided the most common error of historians, that of displaying the paradoxical and the marvellous, both in persons and things. But surely the use of history being to instruct the present and future ages by the experience of the past, nothing can be more absurd than a wish to excite and leave the reader in astonishment, which instead of assisting, can only confound his judgment. Mrs. Hutchinson, on the contrary, has made it her business, and that very successfully, to account by common and easy causes for many of those actions and effects which others have left unaccounted for, and only to be gazed at in unmeaning wonder ; or, in attempting to account for them have employed vain subtility or groundless conjecture. She has likewise not merely described the parties in the state by their general character, but delineated them in *their minute ramifications*, and thus enabled us to trace the springs, and discover the reasonableness, of many of those proceedings which had hitherto seemed incongruous and inconsistent.

Many of these instances will be pointed out in the notes as the passages arise : at present we will only observe that some very signal ones will be found, vol. i. pages 115, 130, 138, 152, 230, 246, 339, 342, 348 ; vol. ii. 72, 92, 98, 101, 109. 112, 129, 152, 159, 168, 171, 189, 192, 198, 220, 223, 235, 243, 246.

But the greater merit shall appear in this work as a history, the greater will be the regret that the writer did not dedicate more of her attention to render it complete and full, instead of summary.

However, the most numerous class of readers are the lovers of biography, and to these it has of late been the practice of historians to address themselves, as Lyttleton in his Life of Henry the Second, Robinson of Charles the Fifth, Roscoe of Leo the Tenth, and many minor writers. Perhaps the prevalence of this predilection may be traced to the circumstance of the reader's thus feeling himself to be, as it were, a party in the transactions which are recounted. A person of this taste will, it is hoped, here have his wishes completely gratified; for he will, in fancy, have lived in times, and witnessed scenes the most interesting that can be imagined to the human mind, especially the mind of an Englishman; he will have converst with persons the most celebrated and extraordinary, whom one party represent as heroes and demigods, the other as demons, but whom, having had opportunity to view close at hand, he will judge to have been truly great men, and to have carried at once to a high degree of perfection the characters of the warrior, the politician, the legislator, and the philosopher; yet to have had their great qualifications alloyed by such failings, and principally the want of moderation, as defeated their grand designs. He will have accompanied the Hero of the Tale, not only through all the ages of life, but through almost every situation in society, from the lowest that can become noticeable, which Mrs. Hutchinson calls the *even ground of a gentleman,* to the highest which his principles permitted him to aspire to, that of a counsellor of state, in a large and flourishing republic; he will have seen him mark each with the exercise of its appropriate grace or virtue, and so completely to have adapted himself to each department, as to appear always to move in the sphere most natural to him: and, finally, to have maintained so steady a course through all the vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity, as enabled him, though he could neither control the conduct of his coadjutors, nor stem the fluctuating tides of fortune or popular opinion, yet to preserve for himself not only the great and inexhaustible resource of a good conscience, but even the unanimous esteem of the Great Assembly of the Nation, when they agreed in no other thing: he will no doubt be sensible that such a character is rare, but he will perceive such a consistency and harmony of parts as to make him deem the whole easy of belief, and conclude that such an one would be even more difficult to feign than to find: he will hence be led to concur with us in asserting, that it is much more efficacious and conducive to improvement and to the advancement of morality thus to hold forth a great example in real life, and to elicit principles from practice, than first to feign a sentiment, and then actions and events to support it, as has been done both by ancients and moderns, from the Hercules of Prodicus to the Grandison of Richardson. Nor has the skill and attention of our author been confined to the pourtraying of her principal character, she has equally succeeded in the delineation of the subordinate ones; so that whenever their speeches or actions are brought afresh before our view, we need not that they should be named in order to recognize the personage; and both in this department, and in that of the developement of the intrigues which she occasionally lays open to us, we shall acknowledge the advantage of her adding to the vigour of a masculine understanding, the nice feeling and discrimination, the delicate touch of the pencil of a female.

As to the style and phraseology, there are so few prose writings of a prior or coeval date now read, that we should be at a loss to point out any which could have served her for models, or us for a standard of comparison; nor does it so much appear to us to bear the stamp of any particular age, as by its simplicity, significancy, and propriety, to be worthy of imitation in all times. Some expressions will be found that are uncommon, or used in an uncommon sense, but they are such as are justified by classical propriety, and, had her book been published, would probably have been adopted and brought into general use.

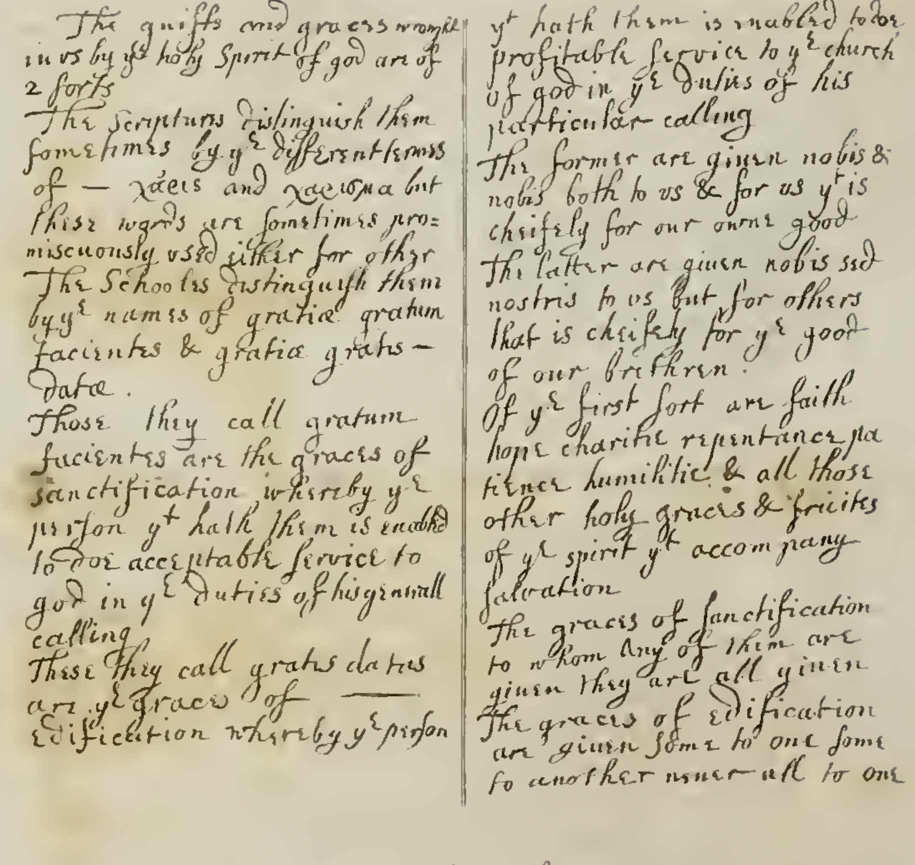
The orthography was in Mrs. Hutchinson's time in a most unsettled state, and she herself varies it so frequently, that it many times differs within the same page, and even the same sentence; we have contented ourselves with following her in it literally.

We conclude with expressing a confident hope that the public will find this memoir to be such as we first announced it, a faithful image of the mode of thinking in those days of which it treats, an interesting and new specimen of private and public character, of general and individual biography, and that recommended as it comes by clearness of discernment, strength and candour of judgment, simplicity, and perspicuity of narrative, pure, amiable, and christian morality, sentiments at once tender and elevated, conveyed in language elegant, expressive, and classical, occasionally embellished with apposite, impressive, and well supported figures, it will be found to afford pleasure and instruction to every class of readers.

The ladies will feel that it carries with it all the interest of a novel, strengthened with the authenticity of real history; they will no doubt feel an additional satisfaction in learning, that though the author added to the erudition of the scholar, the research of the philosopher, the politician, and even the divine, the zeal and magnanimity of a patriot; yet she descended from all these elevations to perform, in the most exemplary manner, the functions of a wife, a mother, and mistress of a family.

FAC-SIMILE OF MRS. HUTCHINSON'S HAND-WRITING;

TAKEN FROM HER THEOLOGICAL REMARKS.



The guifts and graces wrought
in us by ye holy Spirit of god are of
2 sorts
The Scriptures distinguish them
sometimes by ye different termes
of — χάρις and χάρισμα but
these words are sometimes pro=
miscuously used either for other
The Schooles distinguish them
by ye names of gratiæ gratum
facientes & gratiæ gratis—
datæ.
Those they call gratum
facientes are the graces of
sanctification whereby ye
person yt hath them is enabled
to doe acceptable service to
god in ye duties of his generall
calling
These they call gratis datæ
are ye graces of ——
edification whereby ye person
yt hath them is enabled to doe
profitable service to ye church
of god in ye duties of his
particular calling
The former are given nobis &
nobis both to us & for us yt is
cheifely for our owne good
The latter are given nobis sed
nostris to us but for others
that is cheifely for ye good
of our brethren.
Of ye first sort are faith
hope charitie repentance pa
tience humilitie & all those
other holy graces & fruites
of ye spirit yt accompany
salvation
The graces of sanctification
to whom any of them are
given they are all given
The graces of edification
are given some to one some
to another never all to one

Jo. Allen Sc.

THE LIFE OF

MRS. LUCY HUTCHINSON,

WRITTEN BY HERSELF.

A FRAGMENT.

THE Almighty Author of all beings,[a] in his various providences, whereby he conducts the lives of men from the cradle to the tomb, exercises no lesse wisdome and goodnesse then he manifests power and greatnesse in their creation, but such is the stupidity of blind mortalls that insteed of employing their studies in these admirable bookes of providence, wherein God dayly exhibitts to us glorious characters of his love, kindnesse, wisdome, and iustice, they ungratefully regard them not, and call the most wonderfull operations of the greate God the common accidents of humane life, specially if they be such as are usuall, and exercised towards them in ages wherein they are not very capable of observation, and whereon they seldome employ any reflexion; for in things greate and extraordinary some perhaps will take notice of God's working, who either forgett or believe not that he takes as well a care and account of their smallest concernments, even the haires of their heads.

---

[a] That noble turn of thought which led Mrs. Hutchinson to open her work with thanks to her Maker, instead of apologies to the readers, besides the claim it has to their respect instead of their indulgence, will probably, by its originality, recommend itself, and prevent the distaste which the air of religion it wears might give to many, in times when it is so little in fashion. It should be borne in mind that the usage of the times in which it was written was so very different from the present, that those who wish to read with pleasure the works then written, will do well to set their taste according to that standard.

Through the whole of both these works moral and religious reflections will be seen to abound, but so as neither to confuse nor fetter, but rather elevate the mind.

Finding myselfe in some kind guilty of this generall neglect, I thought it might be a meanes to stirre up my thankefulnesse for things past, and to encourage my faith for the future, if I recollected, as much as I have heard or can remember, of the passages of my youth, and the generall and particular providences exercis'd to me, both in the entrance and progress of my life. Herein I meete with so many speciall indulgences as require a distinct consideration, they being all of them to be regarded as talents intrusted to my emproovement for God's glory. The parents by whom I receiv'd my life, the places where I began and continued it, the time when I was brought forth to be a witnesse of God's wonderfull workings in the earth, the rank that was given me in my generation, and the advantages I receiv'd in my person, each of them carries allong with it many mercies which are above my utterance, and as they give me infinite cause of glorifying God's goodness, so I cannot reflect on them without deepe humiliation for the small emproovement I have made of so rich a stock; which that I may yet by God's grace better employ, I shall recall and seriously ponder; and first, as farre as I have since learnt, sett downe the condition of things in the place of my nativity at that time when I was sent into the world. It was on the 29th day of January, in the yeare of our Lord $16\frac{19}{20}$ that in the Tower of London, the principall citie of the English Isle; I was about 4 of the clock in the morning brought forth to behold the ensuing light. My father was Sr. Allen Apsley, lieftenent of the Tower of London; my mother, his third wife, was Lucy, the youngest daughter of Sr. John St. John, of Lidiard Tregoz, in Wiltshire, by his second wife. My father had then living a sonne and a daughter by his former wives, an by my mother three sons, I being her eldest daughter. The land was then att peace, (it being towards the latter end of the reigne of king James) if that quietnesse may be call'd a peace, which was rather like the calme and smooth surface of the sea, whose darke womb is allready impregnated of a horrid tempest.

Whoever considers England,[b] will find itt no small favour of God to have bene made one of its natives, both upon spirituall and outward accounts. The happinesse of the soyle and ayre contribute all things that are necessary to the use or delight of man's life. The celebrated glory of this isle's inhabitants, ever since they receiv'd a mention in history, confers some honor upon every one of her children, and with it an obligation to continue in that magnanimitie and virtue, which hath fam'd this island, and rays'd her head in glory, higher then the greate kingdomes of the neighbouring continent. Brittaine hath bene as a garden enclosed, wherein all things that man can wish, to make a pleasant life, are planted and grow in her owne soyle, and whatsoever forreigne countries yield to encrease admiration and delight, are brought in by her fleetes. The people, by the plenty of their country, not being forc'd to toyle for bread, have ever addicted themselves to more generous employments, and bene reckoned, allmost in all ages, as valliant warriours as any part of the world sent forth; insomuch that the greatest Roman captaines thought it not unworthy of their expeditions, and tooke greate glory in triumphs for unperfect conquests. Lucan upbraids Julius Cæsar for returning hence with a repulse, and 'twas 200 yeares before the land could be reduc'd into a Roman province, which at length was done, and such of the nation, then call'd Picts, as scorn'd servitude, were driven into the barren country of Scotland, where they have ever since remain'd a perpetuall trouble to the successive inhabitants of this place. The Brittaines that thought it better to worke for their conquerors in a good land, then to have the freedom to sterve in a cold and barren quarter, were by degrees fetcht away, and wasted in the civill broyles of these Roman lords, till the land, allmost depopulated, lay open to the incursions of every borderer, and were forc'd to call a stout warlike people, the Saxons, out of Germany, to their assistance. These willingly came at their call, but were not so easily sent out againe, nor perswaswaded to lett their hosts inhabite with them, for they drove the Brittaines into the mountaines of Wales, and seated themselves in those pleasant countries, which from the new masters receiv'd a new name, and ever since retain'd it, being call'd England; on which the warlike Dane made many attempts, with various successe, but after about 2 or 300 yeares vaine contest, they were for ever driven out, with shame and losse, and the Saxon Heptarchie melted into a monarchie, which continued till the superstitious prince, who was sainted for his ungodly chastitie, left an emptie throne to him that could seize it. He who first set up his standard in it, could not hold it, but with his life left it againe for the Norman usurper, who partly by violence, partly by falsehood, layd here the foundation of his monarchie, in the people's blood, in which it hath swom about 500 yeares, till the flood that bore it, was plow'd into such deepe furrows as had allmost sunke the proud vessell. Of those Saxons that remain'd subjects to the Norman conqueror, my father's famely descended; of those Normans that came in with him, my mother's was derived; both of them, as all the rest in England, contracting such affinity, by mutuall marriages, that the distinction remain'd but a short space; Normans and Saxons becoming one people, who by their vallour grewe terrible to all the neighbouring princes, and have not only bravely quitted themselves in their owne defence, but have shew'd abroad, how easily they could subdue the world; if they did not preferre the quiett enioyment of their owne part above the conquest of the whole.

---

[b] If Mrs. Hutchinson in descanting upon the advantages of her native country, and giving almost an epitome of its history, should seem to digress a little too much, it is hoped the reader will find beauty and singularity in her sketch sufficient to excuse it.

Better lawes and a happier constitution of government no nation ever enioy'd, it being a mixture of monarchy, aristocratie, and democracy, with sufficient fences against the pest of every one of those formes, tiranny, faction, and confusion; yett is it nott possible for man to devise such iust and excellent bounds, as will keepe in wild ambition, when prince's flatterers encourage that beast to breake his fence, which it hath often done, with miserable consequences both to the prince and people: but could never in any age so tread downe popular liberty, but that it rose againe with renewed vigor, till at length it trod on those that trampled it before. And in the iust bounds wherein our kings were so well hedg'd in, the surrounding princes have with terror sene the reproofe of their usurpations over their free brethren, whom they rule rather as slaves then subiects, and are only serv'd for feare, but not for love; whereas this people have ever bene as afectionate to good as unpliable to bad soveraignes.[c]

---

[c] The encomium Mrs. H. here bestows on our revered constitution, heightened as it is by a comparison with those of the

Nor is it only vallour and generosity that renowne this nation; in arts wee have advanc'd equall to our neighbors, and in those that are most excellent, exceeded them. The world hath not yielded men more famous in navigation, nor ships better built or furnisht. Agriculture is as ingeniously practis'd: the English archery were the terror of Christendome, and their clothes the ornament: but these low things bounded not their greate spiritts, in all ages it hath yielded men as famous in all kinds of learning, as Greece or Italy can boast of.

And to compleate the crowne of all their glorie, reflected from the lustre of their ingenuity, vallour, witt, learning, iustice, wealth, and bounty, their pietie and devotion to God, and his worship, hath made them one of the most truly noble nations in the Christian world. God having as it were enclosed a people

---

surrounding states, cannot fail to strike with double force upon the minds of us who have viewed with horror and astonishment the wreck of all around us — but it is still more worthy of remark, that after all her experience she still deemed a mixed and temperate monarchy preferable to all other forms of government; and we are hence well justified in concluding that nothing but the extreme abuses which had prevailed, and the failure of all practicable modes of reform, through the ill faith of the monarch, decided her or her husband to endeavour the establishment of a republic, how great soever may have been their zeal for its support when established.

here, out of the wast common of the world, to serve him with a pure and undefiled worship. Lucius the British king was one of the first monarchs of the earth that receiv'd the faith of Christ into his heart and kingdome: Henrie the eighth, the first prince that broke the antichristian yoake of from his owne and his subiects necks. Here it was that the first Christian emperor, receiv'd his crowne: Here began the early dawne of gospell light, by Wickliffe and other faithful witnesses, whom God rays'd up after the black and horrid midnight of antichristianisme, and a more plentifull harvest of devout confessors, constant martirs, and holy worshippers of God, hath not growne in any field of the church, throughout all ages, then those whom God hath here glorified his name and gospell by. Yett hath not this wheate bene without its tares. God in comparison with other countries hath made this as a paradice, so to compleate the parallell, the serpent hath in all times bene busy to seduce, and not unsuccessfull, ever stirring up opposers to the infant truths of Christ.

No sooner was the faith of Christ embrac'd in this nation, but the neighbouring heathens invaded the innocent Christians, and slaughter'd multitudes of them; and when, by the mercy of God, the conquering Pagans were afterwards converted, and that there were none left to opose the name of Christ with open hostility; then the subtile serpent putt of his owne horrid appearance, and comes out in a Christian dresse, to persecute Christ in his poore prophetts, that bore witnesse against the corruption of the times. This intestine quarrell hath bene more successful to the devill, and more aflictive to the church then all open warres, and I feare, will never happily be decided, till the Prince of Peace come to conclude the controversie, which att the time of my birth was working up into that tempest, wherein I have shar'd many perills, many feares, and many sorrows, and many more mercies, consolations and preservations, which I shall have occasion to mention in other places.

From the place of my birth I shall only desire to remember the goodnesse of the Lord who hath caused my lott to fall in a good ground, who hath fed me in a pleasant pasture where the well-springs of life flow to all that desire to drinke of them. And this is no small favour, if I consider how many poore people perish among the heathen, where they never heare the name of Christ; how many poore Christians spring up in countries enslaved by Turkish and antichristian tirants, whose soules and bodies languish under miserable slavery. None knowes what mercy 'tis to live under a good and wholesome law, that have not consider'd the sad condition of being subject to the will of an unlimited man, and surely 'tis too universall a sin in this nation, that the common mercies of God to the whole land, are so slightly regarded and so unconsiderately past over; certainly these are circumstances which much magnifie God's loving-kindnesse and his speciall favor to all that are of English birth, and call for a greater returne of duty from us then from all other people of the world.

Nor is the place only, but the time of my comming into the world a considerable mercy to me. It was not in the midnight of poperie, nor in the dawne of the gospell's restored day, when light and shades were blended and almost undistinguisht, but when the Sun of truth was exalted in his progresse and hastening towards a meridian glory. It was indeed early in the morning, God being pleased to allow me the priviledge of beholding the admirable growth of gospell light in my dayes: and oh! that my soule may never forgett to blesse and prayse his name for the wonders of power and goodnesse, wisdome and truth, which have bene manifested in this my time.

The next blessing I have to consider in my nativity is my parents, both of them pious and vertuous in their owne conversation, and careful instructors of my youth, not only by precept but example. Which if I had leizure and ability, I should have transmitted to my posterity, both to give them the honor due from me in such a gratefull memoriall, and to encrease my children's emprovement of the patterns they sett them; but since I shall detract from those I would celebrate, by my imperfect commemorations, I shall content myselfe to summe up some few things for my owne use, and let the rest alone, which I either knew not, or have forgotten, or cannot worthyly expresse.

My grandfather by the father's side was a gentleman of a competent estate, about 7 or 800*l.* a yeare in Sussex. He being descended of a younger house, had his residence at a place called Pulborough; the famely out of which he came was an Apsley of Apsley, a towne where they had bene seated before the conquest, and ever since continued, till of late the last heire male of that eldest house, being the sonne of Sr. Edward Apsley, is dead without issue, and his estate gone with his sister's daughters into other famelies. Particularities concerning my father's kindred or country, I never knew much of, by reason of my youth, at the time of his death, and my education in farre distant places, only in generall I have heard, that my grandfather was a man well reputed and beloved in his country, and that it had bene such a continued custome for my ancestors to take wives att home, that there was scarce a famely of any note in Sussex, to which they were not by intermarriages neerely related; but I was myselfe a stranger to them all, except my Lord Goring, who living att court, I have sene with my father, and heard of him, because he was appoynted one of my father's executors, though he declin'd the trouble. My grandfather had seven sonns, of which my father was the youngest; to the eldest he gave his whole estate, and to the rest according to the custome of those times, slight annuities. The eldest brother married to a gentlewoman of a good famely, and by her had only one sonne, whose mother dying, my uncle married himselfe againe to one of his own maides, and by her had three more sons, whom, with their mother, my cousin William Apsley, the sonne of the first wife, held in such contempt, that a greate while after, dying without children, he gave his estate of inheritance to my father, and two of my brothers, except about 100*l.* a yeare to the eldest of his halfe brothers, and annuities of 30*l.* a piece to the 3 for their lives. He died before I was borne, but I have heard very honourable mention of him in our famely; the rest of my father's brothers went into the warres in Ireland and the Low Countries, and there remain'd none of them, nor their issues when I was born, but only three daughters who bestowed themselves meanely, and their generations are worne out except two or three unregarded children. My father att the death of my grandfather being but a youth at schole had not patience to stay the perfecting of his studies, but putt himselfe into present action, sold his annuitie, bought himselfe good clothes, put some money in his purse, and came to London; and by meanes of a relation at court, got a place in the household of Queene Elizabeth, where he behav'd himselfe so that he won the love of many of the court; but being young tooke an affection to gaming, and spent most of the mony he had in his purse. About that time the Earle of Essex was setting forth for Cales voyage, and my father, that had a mind to quitt his idle court life, procur'd an employment from the Victualler of the Navie, to go allong with that fleete. In which voyage he demean'd himselfe with so much courage and prudence, that after his returne he was honor'd with a very noble and profitable employment in Ireland. There a rich widow that had many children cast her affections upon him, and he married her; but she not living many yeares with him, and having no children by him, after her death he distributed all her estate among her children, for whom he ever preserv'd a fatherly kindnesse, and some of her grand-children were brought up in his house after I was borne. He, by God's blessing, and his fidellity and industry, growing in estate and honour, receiv'd a knighthood from King James soone after his coming to the crowne, for some eminent service done to him in Ireland, which having only heard in my childhood, I cannot perfectly sett downe. After that growing into a familiarity with Sr. George Carew, made now by the King Earl of Totnesse, a niece of this earls, the daughter of Sr. Peter Carew, who liv'd a young widow in her uncle's house, fell in love with him, which her uncle perceiving, procur'd a marriage betweene them. She had divers children by my father, but only two of them, a sonne and daughter, surviv'd her, who died whilst my father was absent from her in Ireland. He led all the time of his widowhood a very disconsolate life, carefull for nothing in the world but to educate and advance the sonne and daughter, the deare pledges she had left him, for whose sake he quitted himselfe of his employments abroad, and procur'd himselfe the office of Victualler of the Navie, a place then both of credit and greate revenue. His friends, considering his solitude, had procur'd him a match of a very rich widdow, who was a lady of as much discretion as wealth; but while he was upon this designe, he chanc'd to see my mother, att the house of Sr. William St. John, who had married her eldest sister, and though he went on his iourney, yett something in her person and behaviour, he carried allong with him, which would not let him accomplish it, but brought him back to my mother. She was of a noble famely, being the youngest daughter of Sr. John St. John, of Lidiar Tregoz, in the county of Wiltz; her father and mother died when she was not above five yeares of age, and yet at her nurses, from whence she was carried to be brought up in the house of the Lord Grandison, her father's younger brother, an honorable and excellent person, but married to a lady so iealous of him, and so illnatured in her iealous fitts, to any thing that was related to him, that her cruelties to my mother exceeded the stories of stepmothers: the rest of my aunts, my mother's sisters, were disperst to severall places, where they grew up till my uncle Sr. John St. John being married to the daughter of Sr. Thomas Laten, they were all againe brought home to their brother's house. There were not in those days so many beautifull women found in any famely as these, but my mother was by the most iudgments preferr'd before all her elder sisters, who, something envious att it, us'd her unkindly, yett all the suitors that came to them, still turned their addresses to her, which she in her youthful innocency neglected, till one of greater name, estate, and reputation then the rest, hapned to fall deeply in love with her, and to manage it so discretely, that my mother could not but entertaine him, and my uncle's wife, who had a mother's kindnesse for her, perswaded her to remove herselfe from her sister's envie, by going along with her to the Isle of Jernsey, where her father was governor; which she did, and there went into the towne, and boarded in a French minister's house, to learn the language, that minister having bene, by the persecution in France, driven to seeke his shelter there. Contracting a deare friendship with this holy man and his wife, she was instructed in their Geneva discipline, which she liked so much better then our more superstitious service, that she could have bene contented to have lived there, had not a powerfull passion in her heart drawn her back. But at her returne she met with many afflictions, the gentleman who had professt so much love to her, in her absence had bene, by most vile practises and treacheries, drawne out of his senses, and into the marriage of a person, whom, when he recover'd his reason, he hated: but that serv'd only to augment his misfortune, and the circumstances of that story not being necessary to be here inserted, I shall only adde that my mother liv'd in my uncle's house secretly discontented at this accident, but was comforted by the kindnesse of my uncle's wife, who had contracted such an intimate friendship with her, that they seemed to have but one soule. And in this kindnesse she had some time a great sollace, till some mallicious persons had wrought some jealousies which were very groundlesse in my uncle, concerning his wife, but his nature being inclinable to that passion, which was fomented in him by subtile wicked persons, and my mother endeavouring to vindicate iniur'd innocence, she was herselfe not well treated by my uncle, whereupon she left his house, with a resolution to withdrawe herselfe into the island, where the good minister was; and there to weare out her life in the service of God. While she was deliberating, and had fixt upon it in her owne thoughts, resolving to impart it to none, she was with Sr. William St. John, who had married my aunt, when my father accidentally came in there, and fell so heartily in love with her, that he perswaded her to marry him, which she did, and her melancholly made her conforme chearfully to that gravity of habitt and conversation, which was becoming the wife of such a person: who was then 48 yeares of age, and she not above 16. The 1st yeare of their marriage was crown'd with a sonne, call'd after my father's name, and borne at East Smithfield, in that house of the king's, which belong'd to my father's employment in the navie: the next yeare they removed to the Tower of London, whereof my father was made lieftenant, and there had 2 sonns more before me and 4 daughters, and two sonns after: of all which only three sons and two daughters surviv'd him att the time of his death, which was in the sixty-third yeare of his age, after he had three yeares before languisht of a consumption that succeeded a feaver which he gott in the unfortunate voyage to the Isle of Rhee.

He died in the month of May 1630, sadly bewail'd by not only all his dependants and relations, but by all that were acquainted with him, for he never converst with any to whom he was not at some time or in some way beneficiall; and his nature was so delighted in doing good, that it wan him the love of all men, even his enemies, whose envie and mallice it was his custome to overcome with obligations. He had greate naturall parts, but was too active in his youth to stay the heightening of them by study of dead writings, but in the living bookes of men's conversations he soone became so skillfull that he was never mistaken but where his own good would not lett him give creditt to the evill he discern'd in others. He was a most indulgent husband, and no lesse kind to his children, a most noble master, who thought it not enough to maintaine his servants honorably while they were with him, but for all that deserv'd it, provided offices or settlements as for children. He was a father to all his prisoners, sweetning with such compassionate kindnesse their restraint, that the afliction of a prison was not felt in his dayes. He had a singular kindnesse for all persons that were eminent either in learning or armes, and when through the ingratitude and vice of that age many of the wives and chilldren of queene Elizabeth's glorious captaines were reduc'd to poverty, his purse was their common treasury, and they knew not the inconvenience of decay'd fortunes till he was dead: many of those valliant seamen he maintain'd in prison, many he redeem'd out of prison and cherisht with an extraordinary bounty. If among his excellencies one outshin'd the rest, it was the generous liberallity of his mind, wherein goodnesse and greatnesse were so equally distributed that they mutually embellisht each other. Pride and covetousnesse had not the least place in his brest. As he was in love with true honor, so he contemn'd vaine titles, and though in his youth he accepted an addition to his birth, in his riper years he refus'd a barondry, which the king offer'd him. He was severe in the regulating of his famely, especially would not endure the least immodest behaviour or dresse in any woman under his roofe. There was nothing he hated more then an insignificant gallant, that could only make his leggs and prune himselfe, and court a lady, but had not braines to employ himselfe in things more suteable to man's nobler sex. Fidelity in his trust, love and loyalty to his prince, were not the least of his vertues, but those wherein he was not excell'd by any of his owne or succeeding times. The large estate he reapt by his happie industry[c], he did many times over as freely resigne againe to the king's service, till he left the greatest part of itt at his death in the king's hands. All his virtues wanted not the crowne of all vertue, piety, and true devotion to God. As his life was a continued exercise of faith and charity, it concluded with prayers and blessings, which were the only consolations his desolate famely could receive in his death. Never did any two better agree in magnanimity and bounty then he and my mother, who seem'd to be acted by the same soule, so little did she grutch any of his liberallities to strangers, or he contradict any of her kindnesse to all her relations; her house being a common home to all of them, and a nursery to their children. He gave her a noble allowance of 300*l.* a yeare for her owne private expence, and had given her all her owne portion to dispose of how she pleas'd, as soone as she was married; which she suffer'd to encrease in her friend's hands; and what my father allow'd her she spent not in vanities, although she had what was rich and requisite upon occasions, but she layd most of it out in pious and charitable uses. Sr. Walter Rawleigh and Mr. Ruthin being prisoners in the Tower, and addicting themselves to chimistrie, she suffer'd them to make their rare experiments at her cost, partly to comfort and divert the poore prisoners, and partly to gaine the knowledge of their experiments, and the medicines to helpe such poor people as were not able to seeke to phisitians. By these means she acquired a greate deale of skill, which was very profitable to many all her life.[d] She was not only to these, but to all the other prisoners that came into the Tower, as a mother. All the time she dwelt in the Tower, if any were sick she made them broths and restoratives with her owne hands, visited and tooke care of them, and provided them all necessaries; if any were aflicted she comforted them, so that they felt not the inconvenience of a prison who were in that place. She was not lesse bountifull to many poore widdowes and orphans, whom officers of higher and lower rank had left behind them as objects of charity. Her owne house was fill'd with distressed families of her relations, whom she supplied and maintain'd in a noble way. The care of the worship and service of God, both in her soule and her house, and the education of her children, was her principall care. She was a constant frequenter of weekeday lectures, and a greate lover and encourager of good ministers, and most diligent in her private reading and devotions.

---

[c] Mrs. Hutchinson, though a republican, does not fail justly to appreciate loyalty. The noble family of Bathurst, in which that of Apsley is merged by repeated marriages, will with good title claim this as their appropriate virtue of inheritance

---

[d] This anecdote of Sir Walter Rawleigh will no doubt attract the notice of the observant reader: it merits to be borne in mind, as it will account for a passage in the memoirs, where Mrs. Hutchinson is represented as acting the part of a surgeon in the siege of Nottingham castle: and the treatment Sir Allen Apsley and his lady gave their prisoners forms a striking contrast with that which it will appear at the end of the history was practised by some of his successors, at a time when mildness seemed most requisite, and was most professed. Perhaps prejudice will render it incredible that in the Bastile of Paris, which has become a proverbial expression to signify cruel durance, the conduct of the murdered governor resembled that of Sir Allen Apsley; it is nevertheless true.

When my father was sick she was not satisfied with the attendance of all that were about him, but made herselfe his nurse, and cooke, and phisitian, and, through the blessing of God and her indefatigable labours and watching, preserv'd him a greate while longer then the phisitians thought it possible for his nature to hold out. At length when the

Lord tooke him to rest she shew'd as much humility and patience, under that greate change, as moderation and bounty in her more plentifull and prosperous condition, and died in my house at Owthorpe, in the county of Nottingham, in the yeare 1659. The priveledge of being borne of and educated by such excellent parents, I have often revolv'd with greate thankfullnesse for the mercy, and humilliation that I did no more emproove it. After my mother had had 3 sons she was very desirous of a daughter, and when the weomen at my birth told her I was one, she receiv'd me with a greate deale of joy; and the nurses fancying, because I had more complexion and favour then is usuall in so young children, that I should not live, my mother became fonder of me, and more endeavour'd to nurse me. As soone as I was wean'd a French woman was taken to be my drie nurse, and I was taught to speake French and English together. My mother, while she was with child of me, dreamt that she was walking in the garden with my father, and that a starre came down into her hand, with other circumstances, which, though I have often heard, I minded not enough to remember perfectly; only my father told her, her dreame signified she should have a daughter of some extraordinary eminency; which thing like such vaine prophecies, wrought as farre as it could its own accomplishment[e]: for my father and mother fancying me then beautifull, and more than ordinarily apprehensive, applied all their cares, and spar'd no cost to emproove me in my education, which procur'd me the admiration of those that flatter'd my parents. By that time I was foure years old I read English perfectly, and having a greate memory, I was carried to sermons, and while I was very young could remember and repeate them exactly, and being caress'd, the love of praise tickled me, and made me attend more heedfully. When I was about 7 yeares of age, I remember I had att one time 8 tutors in several quallities, languages, musick, dancing, writing, and needlework, but my genius was quite averse from all but my booke, and that I was so eager of, that my mother thinking it preiudic'd my health, would moderate me in it; yet this rather animated me then kept me back, and every moment I could steale from my play I would employ in any booke I could find, when my own were lockt up from me. After dinner and supper I still had an hower allow'd me to play, and then I would steale into some hole or other to read. My father would have me learne Latine, and I was so apt that I outstript my brothers who were at schoole, allthough my father's chaplaine that was my tutor was a pittifull dull fellow. My brothers who had a greate deale of witt, had some emulation at the progresse I made in my learning, which very well pleas'd my father, tho' my mother would have bene contented, I had not so wholly addicted myselfe to that as to neglect my other quallities: as for musick and dancing I profitted very little in them, and would never practise my lute or harpsichords but when my masters were with me; and for my needle I absolutely hated it; play among other children I despis'd, and when I was forc'd to entertaine such as came to visit me, I tir'd them with more grave instructions then their mothers, and pluckt all their babies to pieces, and kept the children in such awe, that they were glad when I entertain'd myselfe with elder company; to whom I was very acceptable, and living in the house with many persons that had a great deale of witt; and very profitable serious discourses being frequent at my father's table and in my mother's drawing roome, I was very attentive to all, and gather'd up things that I would utter againe to greate admiration of many that tooke my memory and imitation for witt. It pleas'd God that thro' the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinc'd that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study, and accordingly applied myselfe to it, and to practise as I was taught: I us'd to exhort my mother's maides much, and to turne their idle discourses to good subjects; but I thought, when I had done this on the Lord's day, and every day perform'd my due taskes of reading and praying, that then I was free to anie thing that was not sin, for I was not at that time convinc'd of the vanity of conversation which was not scandalously wicked, I thought it no sin to learne or heare wittie songs and amorous sonnetts or poems, and twenty things of that kind, wherein I was so apt that I became the confident in all the loves that were managed among my mother's young weomen, and there was none of them but had many lovers, and some particular friends belov'd above the rest; among these

---

[e] This is an ingenious way of accounting for the fulfilment of superstitious predictions and expectations, which might frequently with close attention be traced to their source, as is here done. It is clear that in the present case it occasioned a peculiar care to be taken of her education; and this again caused her mind and disposition to take that singular stamp which attracted the notice of Mr. Hutchinson, and led her to the highest situation that she could wish for, that of the lady of a counsellor of state in her beloved, but short-lived, republic. When the reader shall have followed her to the end of her labours, let him judge whether there could be any situation to which she was not adequate.

I have[f] ******* Five yeares after me my mother had a daughter that she nurst at her owne brest, and was infinitely fond of above all the rest, and I being of too serious a temper was not so pleasing to my[g] ******

---

[f] At this place is a great chasm, many leaves being torn out apparently by the writer herself.

[g] Here the story of herself abruptly ends.

Great care being taken to follow the orthography of the writer, the reader need be under no apprehension as to the correctness of the print, though he should find the same word spelt differently even in the same line; as unperfect, imperfect; son, sonne, &c. The only deviation we have made from the MS. is in putting the U and V in their proper places; they being written promiscuously.

MRS. HUTCHINSON TO HER CHILDREN

CONCERNING

THEIR FATHER.

'TO MY CHILDREN.'

They who dote on mortall excellencies, when by the inevitable fate of all things fraile, their adored idolls are taken from them, may let loose the winds of passion to bring in a flood of sorrow; whose ebbing tides carry away the deare memory of what they have lost; and when comfort is assay'd to such mourners, commonly all obiects are remoov'd out of their view, which may with their remembrance renew the grief; and in time these remedies succeed, when oblivion's curtaine is by degrees drawn over the dead face, and things lesse lovely are liked, while they are not view'd together with that which was most excellent; but I that am under a command not to grieve att the common rate of desolate woemen[h], while I am study-ing which way to moderate my woe, and if it were possible to augment my love, can for the present find out none more iust to your deare father nor consolatory to myselfe then the preservation of his memory, which I need not guild with such flattring commendations as the hired preachers doe equally give to the truly and titularly honorable; a naked undrest narrative, speaking the simple truth of him, will deck him with more substantiall glorie, then all the panegyricks the best pens could ever consecrate to the vertues of the best men.

---

[h] The command of her husband at his death. It will be readily admitted that she does indeed not grieve after any common rate, but with that noble sorrow which raises instead of

Indeed that resplendant body of light, which the beginning and ending of his life made up, to discover the deformities of this wicked age, and to instruct the erring children of this generation, will through my apprehension and expression shine as under a very thick clowd, which will obscure much of their lustre; but there is need of this medium to this world's weake eies, which I feare hath but few people in it so vertuous as can believe, because they find themselves so short, any other could

---

depressing the soul: it would be an affront to the reader's taste to point out the beauties of this dirge; but it is only a just commendation of our authoress' judgment and modesty to observe, that having shewn her ability to ornament and embellish, she confines herself to such occasions as are most suitable, and employs the greatest simplicity in her narrative.

make so large a progresse in the race of piety, honor, and vertue: but I am allmost stopt before I sett forth to trace his steps; finding the number of them by which he still outwent himselfe more then my unperfect arithmetick can count, and the exact figure of them such as my unskillfull pen cannot describe. I feare to iniure that memory which I would honor, and to disgrace his name with a poore monument; but when I have beforehand layd this necessary caution, and ingenuously confess'd that through my inabillity either to receive or administer much of that wealthy stock of his glory that I was intrusted with for the benefitt of all, and particularly his owne posterity, I must withhold a greate part from them, I hope I shall be pardon'd for drawing an imperfect image of him, especially when even the rudest draught that endeavours to counterfeit him, will have much delightfull lovelinesse in it.

Let not excesse of love and delight in the streame make us forgett the fountaine, he and all his excellencies came from God, and flow'd back into their owne spring; there lett us seeke them, thither lett us hasten after him; there having found him, lett us cease to bewaile among the dead that which is risen, or rather was immortall; his soule converst with God so much when he was here, that it reioyces to be now eternally freed from interruption in that blessed exercise; his vertues were recorded in heaven's annalls, and can never perish, by them he yett teaches us and all those to whose knowledge they shall arrive : 'tis only his fetters, his sins, his infirmities, his diseases, that are dead never to revive againe, nor would we have them ; they were his enemies and ours; by faith in Christ he vanquish'd them : our coniunction, if wee had any with him, was indissoluble, if wee were knitt together by one spiritt into one body of Christ, wee are so still, if wee were mutually united in one love of God, good men, and goodnesse, wee are so still ; what is it then we waile in his remoove ? the distance ! faithlesse fooles ! sorrow only makes it ; let us but ascend to God in holy ioy for the greate grace given his poore servant, and he is there with us. He is only remoov'd from the mallice of his enemies, for which wee should not expresse love to him in being aflicted, wee may mourne for ourselves that wee come so tardily after him, that wee want his guide and assistance in our way, and yet if our tears did not putt out our eies wee should see him even in heaven, holding forth his flaming lamp of vertuous examples and precepts to light us through the darke world. It is time that I lett in to your knowledge that splendor which while it cheares and enlightens your heavy senses, let us remember to give all his and all our glorie to God alone, who is the father and fountaine of all light and excellence.

Desiring, if my treacherous memory have not lost the dearest treasure that ever I committed to its trust, to relate to you his holy, vertuous, honorable life, I would put his picture in the front of his booke,[1] but my unskillfull hand will iniure him. Yet to such of you as have not seene him to remember his person, I leave this—

HIS DESCRIPTION.

He was of a middle stature, of a slender and exactly well-proportion'd shape in all parts, his complexion fair, his hayre of light browne, very thick sett in his youth, softer then the finest silke, curling into loose greate rings att the ends, his eies of a lively grey, well-shaped and full of life and vigour, graced with many becoming motions, his visage thinne, his mouth well made, and his lipps very ruddy and gracefull, although the nether chap shut over the upper, yett it was in such a manner as was not unbecoming, his teeth were even and white as the purest ivory, his chin was something long, and the mold of his face, his forehead was not very high, his nose was rays'd and sharpe, but withall he had a most amiable countenance, which carried in it something of magnanimity and maiesty mixt with sweetenesse, that at the same time bespoke love and awe in all that saw him; his skin was smooth and white, his legs and feete excellently well made, he was quick in his pace and turnes, nimble and active and gracefull in all his motions, he was apt for any bodily exercise, and any that he did became him, he could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor riper yeares made any practise of it, he had skill in fencing such as became a gentleman, he had a greate love to musick, and often diverted himselfe with a violl, on which he play'd masterly, he had an exact eare and iudgment in other musick, he shott excellently in bowes and gunns, and much us'd them for his exercise, he had greate iudgement in paintings,[k] graving, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of vallue in all kinds, he tooke greate delight in perspective glasses, and for his other rarities was not so much affected with the antiquity as the merit of the worke — he tooke much pleasure in emprovement of grounds, in planting groves and walkes, and fruite-trees, in opening springs and making fish-ponds;[1] of country recreations he lov'd none but hawking, and in that was very eager and much delighted for the time he us'd it, but soone left it of; he was wonderful neate, cleanly and gentile in his habitt, and had a very good fancy in it, but he left off very early the wearing of aniething that was costly, yett in his plainest negligent habitt appear'd very much a gentleman; he had more addresse than force of body, yet the courage of his soule so supplied his members that he never wanted strength when he found occasion to employ it; his conversation was very pleasant for he was naturally chearfull, had a ready witt and apprehension; he was eager in every thing he did, earnest in dispute, but withall very rationall, so that he was seldome overcome, every thing that it was necessary for him to doe he did with delight, free and unconstrein'd, he hated ceremonious complement, but yett had a naturall civillity and complaisance to all people, he was of a tender constitution, but through the vivacity of his spiritt could undergo labours, watchings and iourneyes, as well as any of stronger compositions; he was rheumatick, and had a long sicknesse and distemper occasion'd thereby two or three yeares after the warre ended, but else for the latter halfe of his life was healthy tho' tender, in his youth and childhood he was sickly, much troubled with weaknesse and tooth akes, but then his spiritts carried him through them; he was very patient under sicknesse or payne or any common accidents, but yet upon occasions, though never without iust ones, he would be very angrie, and had even in that such a grace as made him to be fear'd, yet he was never outragious in passion; he had a very good facultie in perswading, and would speake very well pertinently and effectually without premeditation upon the greatest occasions that could be offer'd, for indeed his iudgment was so nice that he could never frame any speech before-hand to please himselfe, but his invention was so ready and wisedome so habituall in all his speeches, that he never had reason to repent himselfe of speaking at any time without ranking the words beforehand, he was not talkative yett free of discourse, of a very spare diett, not much given to sleepe, an early riser when in health, he never was at any time idle, and hated to see any one elce soe, in all his naturall and ordinary inclinations and composure, there was something extraordinary and tending to vertue, beyond what I can describe, or can be gather'd from a bare dead description; there was a life of spiritt and power in him that is not to be found in any copie drawn from him: to summe up therefore all that can be said of his outward frame and disposition wee must truly conclude, that it was a very handsome and well furnisht lodging prepar'd for the reception of that prince, who in the administration of all excellent vertues reign'd there awhile, till he was called back to the pallace of the universall emperor.[m]

---

[1] The editor is happy to have it in his power to do this in a manner that will be gratifying to the lovers of the arts. The original pictures of Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson, with their two children, were found by him in their house at Owthorpe, and are now deposited, along with the manuscript, at Messrs. Longman's and Co.

---

[k] There remained some few of these at Owthorpe unspoiled, but many were spoiled by neglect, at the death of the last possessor.

---

[1] Many traces of his taste, judgment, and industry, in each of these, were to be seen at the distance of 140 years.

HIS VERTUES.

To number his vertues, is to give the epitome of his life, which was nothing elce but a progresse from one degree of vertue to another, till in a short time he arriv'd to that height, which many longer lives could never reach, and had I but the power of rightly disposing and relating them, his single example would be more instructive then all the rules of the best morallists, for his practise was of a more devine extraction, drawne from the word of God, and wrought up by the assistance of his Spiritt; therefore in the head of all his vertues, I shall sett that which was the head and spring of them all, his Christianity—for this alone is the true royall blood that runs through the whole body of vertue, and every pretender to that glorious famely, who hath no tincture of it, is an imposter and a spurious bratt. This is that sacred fountaine which baptizeth all the gentile vertues, that so immortalize the names of Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, and all the old philosophers; herein they are regenerated and take a new name and nature; digg'd up in the wildernesse of nature, and dipt in this living spring, they are planted and flourish in the Paradise of God.

---

[m] Is not here Plato's system pourtray'd in language worthy of that sublime and eloquent philosopher?

[n] Highly panegyrical as the character Mrs. Hutchinson here gives of her husband may appear, yet every point of it will be completely exemplified in the narrative; but if the widow's fondness for his memory should have led her into some excess, who will blame it?

By Christianitie I intend that universall habitt of grace which is wrought in a soule by the regenerating spiritt of God whereby the whole creature is resign'd up into the divine will and love, and all its actions design'd to the obedience and glory of its maker. As soone as he had improov'd his naturall understanding with the acquisition of learning, the first studies he exercised himselfe in, were principles of religion, and the first knowledge he labour'd for was a knowledge of God, which by a dilligent examination of the scripture, and the severall doctrines of greate men pretending that ground he at length obtein'd. — Afterward when he had layd a sure and orthodox foundation in the doctrine of the free grace of God given us by Jesus Christ, he began to survey the superstructures, and to discover much of the hay and stubble of man's inventions in God's worship which his spiritt burnt up in the day of their triall. His faith being established in the truth, he was full of love to God and all his saints.[o] He hated persecution for religion, and was allwayes a champion for all religious people against all their greate oppressors. He detested all scoffs att any practise of worship though such a one as he was not perswaded of. Whatever he practiz'd in religion was neither for faction nor advantage, but contrary to it, and purely for conscience sake. As he hated outsides in religion, so could he worse endure, those apostacies and those denialls of the Lord and base compliances with his adversaries, which timorous men practise under the name of prudent and iust condescensions to avoid persecution. Christianity being in him as the fountaine of all his vertues, and diffusing itselfe into every streame, that of his Prudence falls into the next mention. He from a child was wise, and sought to buy many that might have bene his fathers for councell, which he could excellently give to himselfe and others, and whatever crosse event in any of his affaires may give occasion to fooles to overlooke the wisedome of the designe, yett he had as greate a foresight, as strong a iudgment, as cleare an apprehension of men and things as no man more. He had rather a firme impression than a greate memory, yet he was forgetful of nothing but injuries. His owne integritie made him credulous of other men's, till reason and experience convinc'd him, and as unapt to believe cautions which could not be receiv'd without entertaining ill opinions of men, yet he had wisedome enough never to committ himselfe to a traytor, though he was once wickedly betrey'd by friends whom necessity and not mistake forc'd him to trust.[p] He was as ready to heare as to give councell, and never pertinacious in his will when his reason was convinc'd. There was no opinion which he was most settled in either concerning devine or humane things but he would patiently and impartially heare it debated. In matters of faith his reason allwayes submitted to the word of God, and what he could not comprehend he would believe because 'twas written, but in all other things, the greatest names in the world could never lead him without reason: he would deliberate when there was time, but never lost an opportunity of anie thing that was to be done by tedious dispute. He would hear as well as speake, and yet never spoke impertinently or unseasonably. He very well understood himselfe his owne advantages, naturall parts, guifts, and acquirements, yett so as neither to glorie of them to others, nor overvallue himselfe for them, for he had an excellent vertuous modesty, which shutt out all vanity of mind, and yet admitted that true understanding of himselfe which was requisite for the best improvement of all his talents; he no lesse understood and was more heedfull to remarke his defects, imperfections, and disadvantages, but that too only to excite his circumspection concerning them, not to damp his spiritt in any noble enterprize. He had a noble spiritt of governement, both in civill, military, and œcumenicall[q] administrations, which forc'd even from unwilling subjects a love and reverence of him, and endear'd him to the soules of those rejoyc'd to be govern'd by him. He had a native maiesty that struck an awe of him into the hearts of men, and a sweete greatnesse that commanded love. He had a cleare discerning of men's spirits, and knew how to give every one their iust weight, he contemn'd none that were not wicked, in whatever low degree of nature or fortune they were otherwise: where-ever he saw wisedome, learning, or other vertues in men, he honor'd them highly, and admir'd them to their full rate, but never gave himselfe blindly up to the conduct of the greatest master. Love itselfe, which was as powerfull in his as in any soule, rather quick'ned then blinded the eies of his iudgment in discerning the imperfections of those that were most deare to him. His soule ever reign'd as king in the internall throne, and never was captive to his sence; religion and reason, its two favour'd councellors, tooke order that all the passions kept within their owne just bounds, there did him good service, and further'd the publick weale. He found such felicity in that proportion of wisedome that he enjoyed, as he was a greate lover of that which advanc'd it, learning and the arts, which he not only honor'd in others, but had by his industry arriv'd to be himselfe a farre greater schollar then is absolutely requisite for a gentleman. He had many excellent attainements, but he no lesse evidenc'd his wisedome in knowing how to ranke and use them, then in gaining them. He had witt enough to have bene subtile and cunning, but he so abhorr'd dissimulation that I cannot say he was either. Greatenesse of courage would not suffer him to put on a vizard, to secure him from any, to retire into the shaddow of privacy and silence was all his prudence could effect in him. It will be as hard to say which was the predominant vertue in him, as which is so in its owne nature. He was as excellent in iustice as in wisedome — the greatest advantage, nor the greatest danger, nor the dearest interest or friend in the world could not prevaile on him to pervert justice even to an enemie. He never profess'd the thing he intended not, nor promis'd what he believ'd out of his owne power, nor fail'd the performance of aniething that was in his power to fullfill. Never fearing aniething he could suffer for the truth, he never at any time would refraine a true or give a false witnesse; he lov'd truth so much that he hated even sportive lies and gulleries.

---

[o] Saints. An expression commonly used in that time to signify good and religious people.

---

[p] It is not known what peculiar transaction this refers to, though it may be conjectured to refer to the false protestations of Monk and Sir Ashley Cooper at the restoration; whom he and many others trusted much against their will.

---

[q] Œcumenicall—Domestick.

He was so just to his owne honour that he many times forbore things lawfull and delightfull to him, rather than he would give any one occasion of scandal. Of all lies he most hated hipocrisie in religion, either to complie with changing governments or persons, without a reall perswasion of conscience, or to practise holy things to get the applause of men or any advantage. — As in Religion so in Friendship, he never profest love when he had it not, nor disguiz'd hate or aversion, which indeed he never had to any party or person, but to their sins: and lov'd even his bitterest enemies so well, that I am witnesse how his soule mourn'd for them, and how heartely he desir'd their conversion. If he were defective in any part of iustice, it was when it was in his power to punish those who had iniur'd him, whom I have so often knowne him to recompence with favours instead of revenge, that his friends us'd to tell him if they had any occasion to make him favourably partiall to them they would provoke him by an iniury. He was as faithful and constant to his friends as mercifull to his enemies: nothing griev'd him more than to be oblieg'd, where he could not hope to returne itt. He that was a rock to all assaults of might and violence, was the gentlest easie soule to kindnesse, that the least warme sparke of that melted him into aniething that was not sinfull. There never was a man more exactly iust in the performance of duties to all relations and all persons. Honor, obedience, and love to his father, were so naturall and so lasting in him, that it is impossible to imagine a better sonne than he was, and whoever would pray for a blessing in children to any one, could but wish them such a sonne as he.[r] He never repin'd at his father's will in aniething, how much soever it were to his prejudice, nor would endure to heare anie one say his father was not so kind to him as he might have bene, but to his dying day preserv'd his father's memory with such tender affection and reverence as was admirable, and had that high regard for his mother-in-law and the children she brought his father, as he could not have bene more dearly concern'd in all their interest if she had bene his owne mother — which, all things consider'd, although they were deserving persons, was an example of piety and goodnesse that will not easily be matcht. For coniugal affection to his wife, it was such in him, as whosoever would draw out a rule of honour, kindnesse, and religion, to be practiz'd in that estate, need no more, but exactly draw out his example; never man had a greater passion for a woman, nor a more honourable esteeme of a wife, yet he was not uxorious, nor remitted not that iust rule which it was her honor to obey, but manag'd the reines of governement with such prudence and affection that she who would not delight in such an honourable and advantageable subjection, must have wanted a reasonable soule; he govern'd by perswasion, which he never employ'd but to things honorable and profitable for herselfe; he lov'd her soule and her honor more than her outside, and yet he had even for her person a constant indulgence, exceeding the common temporary passions of the most uxorious fooles: if he esteem'd her att a higher rate then she in herselfe could have deserv'd, he was the author of that vertue he doted on, while she only reflected his own glories upon him: all that she was, was *him*, while he was here, and all that she is now at best but his pale shade. So liberall was he to her and of so generous a temper, that he hated the mention of sever'd purses: his estate being so much at her dispose that he never would receive an account of aniething she expended; so constant was he in his love, that when she ceast to be young and lovely, he began to shew most fondnesse, he lov'd her at such a kind and generous rate as words cannot expresse, yet even this, which was the highest love he or any man could have, was yet bounded by a superior, he lov'd her in the Lord as his fellow creature, not his idoll, but in such a manner as shew'd that an affection bounded in the just rules of duty, far exceeds every way all the irregular passions in the world. He lov'd God above her and all the other dear pledges of his heart, and at his command and for his glorie chearefully resign'd them. He was as kinde a father, as deare a brother, as good a master, and as faithfull a friend as the world had, yet in all these relations, the greatest indulgence he could have in the world never prevail'd on him to indulge vice in any the dearest person, but the more deare any was to him, the more was he offended at any thing that might take of the lustre of their glorie. As he had great severity against errors and follies pertinaciously pursued, so had he the most merciful, gentle, and compassionate frame of spiritt that can be imagin'd to those who became sensible of their errors and frailties, although they had bene never so iniurious to himselfe.

---

[r] This we shall find called in question by his mother-in-law, and will be discussed in the course of the history.

Nor was his soule lesse shining in honour then in love. Pietie being still the bond of all his other vertues, there was nothing he durst not doe or suffer, but sin against God, and therefore as he never regarded his life in any noble and just enterprize, so he never staked it in any rash or unwarrantable hazard. He was never surpriz'd, amaz'd, nor confounded with greate difficulties or dangers, which rather serv'd to animate then distract his spirits: he had made up his accounts with life and death, and fixt his purpose to entertaine both honourably, so that no accident ever dismay'd him, but he rather rejoic'd in such troublesome conflicts as might signalize his generosity. A truer or more lively vallour there never was in anie man, but in all his actions, it ever marcht in the same file with wisedome. He understood well, and as well perform'd when he undertooke it, the millitary art in all parts of it: he naturally lov'd the employment as it suited with his active temper, more then any, conceiving a mutual delight in leading those men that lov'd his conduct; and when he commanded souldiers, never was man more lov'd and reverenc'd by all that were under him: for he would never condiscend to them in anie thing they mutinously sought, nor suffer them to seeke what it was fitt for him to provide, but prevented them by his loving care; and while he exercis'd his authority no way but in keeping them to their iust duty, they joy'd as much in his commands, as he in their obedience: he was very liberall to them, but ever chose iust times and occasions to exercise it. I cannot say whether he were more truly magnanimous or lesse proud: he never disdain'd the meanest person nor flatter'd the greatest: he had a loving and sweete courtesie to the poorest, and would often employ many spare howers with the commonest souldiers and poorest labourers, but still so ordering his familiarity as it never rays'd them to a contempt, but entertained still at the same time a reverence with love of him; he ever preserv'd himselfe in his owne rank, neither being proud of it so as to despise any inferior, nor letting fall that iust decorum which his honor obliged him to keepe up. He was as farre from envie of superiors as from contemning them that were under him: he was above the ambition of vaine titles, and so well contented with the even ground of a gentleman, that no invitation could have prevail'd upon him to advance one step that way; he lov'd substantiall not ayrie honor: as he was above seeking or delighting in emptie titles for himself, so he neither denied nor envied any man's due precedency, but pittied those that tooke a glorie in that which had no foundation of vertue. As little did he seeke after popular applause, or pride himselfe in it, if at any time it cried up his just deserts; he more delighted to doe well then to be prays'd, and never sett vulgar commendations at such a rate, as to act contrary to his owne conscience or reason for the obteining them, nor would forbear a good action which he was bound to, though all the world disliked it, for he ever look'd on things as they were in themselves, not through the dimme spectacles of vulgar estimation. As he was farre from a vaine affectation of popularity, so he never neglected that iust care that an honest man ought to have of his reputation, and was as carefull to avoyd the appearances of evill as evill itselfe; but if he were evill spoken of for truth or righteousnesse sake, he rejoyc'd in taking up the reproach; which all good men that dare beare their testimony against an evill generation must suffer. Though his zeale for truth and virtue, caus'd the wicked with the sharpe edges of their mallicious tongues, to attempt to shave of the glories from his head, yett his honor springing from the fast roote of vertue, did but growe the thicker and more beautiful for all their endeavours to cutt it[*] of. He was as free from avarice as from ambition and pride. Never had any man a more contented and thankfull heart for the estate that God had given, but it was a very narrow compasse for the exercise of his greate heart. He lov'd hospitallity as much as he hated riott: he could contentedly be without things beyond his reach, though he tooke very much pleasure in all those noble delights that exceeded not his faculties. In those things that were of meere pleasure, he lov'd not to aime at that he could not attaine: he would rather weare clothes absolutely plaine, then pretending to gallantry, and would rather chuse to have none then meane iewells or pictures, and such other things as were not of absolute necessity: he would rather give nothing than a base reward or present, and upon that score, liv'd very much retir'd, though his nature were very sociable, and delighted in going into and receiving company: because his fortune would not allow him to do it in such a noble manner as suited with his mind. He was so truly magnanimous that prosperity could never lift him up in the least, nor give him any tincture of pride or vaine glory, nor diminish a generall affability, curtesie, and civility, that he had allwayes to all persons. When he was most exalted he was most mercifull and compassionate to those that were humbled. At the same time that he vanquisht any enemie, he cast away all his ill-will to him, and entertain'd thoughts of love and kindnesse as soone as he ceas'd to be in a posture of opposition. He was as farre from meannesse as from pride, as truly generous as humble, and shew'd his noble spiritt more in adversity then in his prosperous condition: he vanquisht all the spite of his enemies by his manly suffering, and all the contempts they could cast upon him were theirs, not his, shame.

---

[*] Samson and Dalilah.

His whole life was the rule of temperance in meate, drinke, apparell, pleasure, and all those things that may be lawfully enjoy'd, and herein his temperance was more excellent then in others, in whom it is not so much a vertue, but proceeds from want of appetite or gust of pleasure; in him it was a true, wise and religious governement of the desire and delight he tooke in the things he enjoy'd. He had a certeine activity of spiritt which could never endure idlenesse either in himselfe or others, and that made him eager for the time he indulg'd it as well in pleasure as in businesse: indeed, though in his youth he exercis'd innocent sports a little while, yett afterwards his businesse was his pleasure; but how intent soever he were in anie thing, how much soever it delighted him, he could freely and easily cast it away when God called him to something elce.—He had as much modesty as could consist with a true vertuous assurance, and hated an impudent person.

Neither in youth nor riper age could the most faire or enticeing weomen ever draw him so much as into unnecessary familliarity or vaine converse or dalliance with them, yet he despis'd nothing of the female sex but their follies and vanities; wise and vertuous weomen he lov'd, and delighted in all pure, holy, and unblameable conversation with them, but so as never to excite scandall or temptation. Scurrilous discourse even among men he abhorr'd, and though he sometimes tooke pleasure in witt and mirth, yet that which was mixt with impurity he never would endure. The heate of his youth a little enclin'd him to the passion of anger, and the goodnesse of his nature to those of love and griefe, but reason was never dethron'd by them, but continued governesse and moderator in his soul.[t]

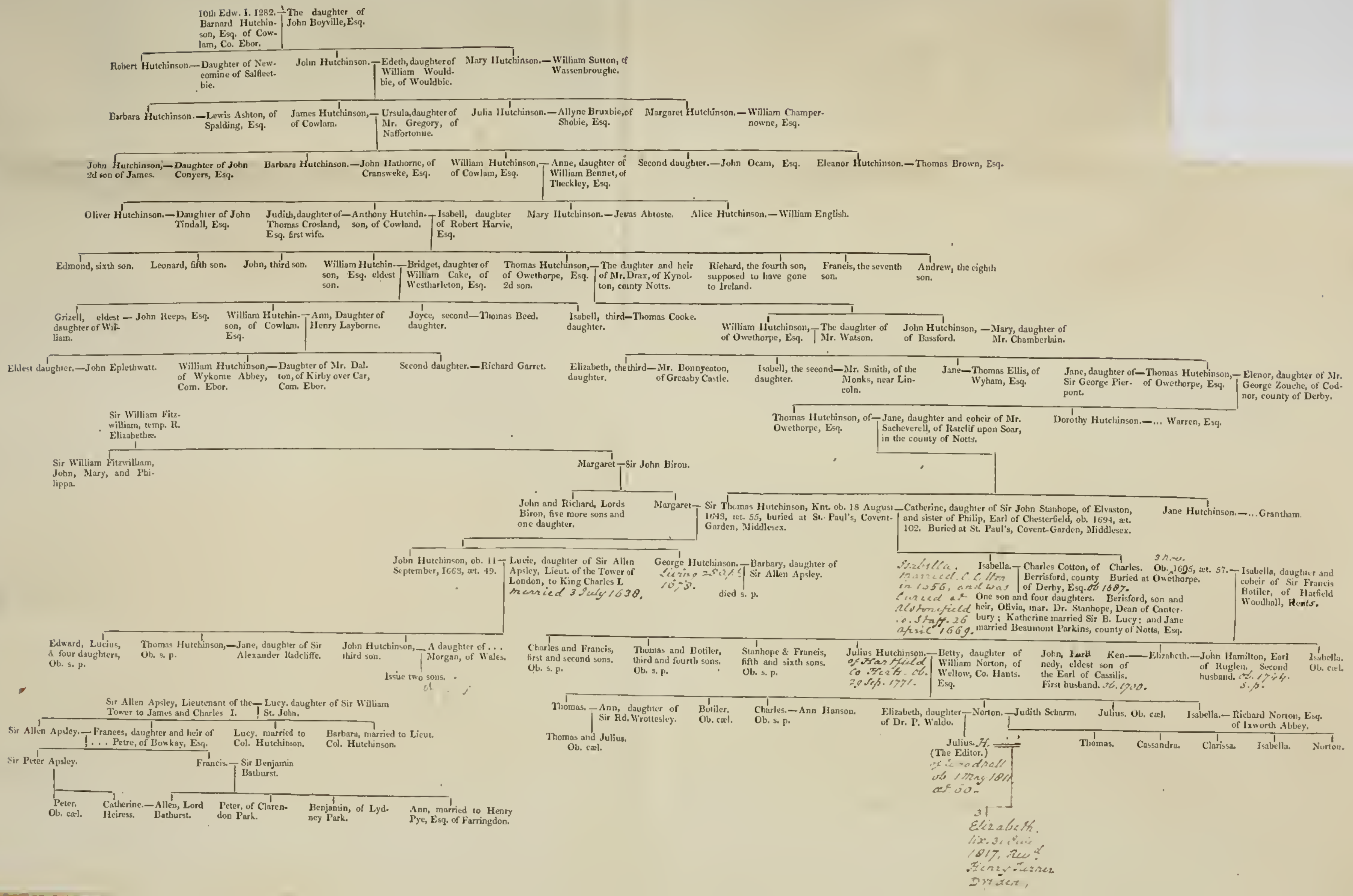
---

[t] In this place Mrs. Hutchinson has written, " All this and more is true, but I so much dislike the manner of relating it, that I will make another assay." And accordingly she proceeds to write his character over again, but it has the appearance of being much *more laboured*, and much *less characteristick*, and therefore the former is preferred.

At the same place is written: " This book was written by Lucy, the widow and relict of Col. John Hutchinson, of Owthorp." J. H.

(Julius Hutchinson, grandfather of the Editor.)

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILIES OF HUTCHINSON AND APSLEY.



10th Edw. I. 1282. Barnard Hutchinson, Esq. of Cowlam, Co. Ebor.—The daughter of John Boyville, Esq.

Robert Hutchinson.—Daughter of Newcomine of Salfleetbie.
John Hutchinson.—Edeth, daughter of William Wouldbie, of Wouldbie.
Mary Hutchinson.—William Sutton, of Wassenbroughe.

Barbara Hutchinson.—Lewis Ashton, of Spalding, Esq.
James Hutchinson, of Cowlam.—Ursula, daughter of Mr. Gregory, of Naffortonne.
Julia Hutchinson.—Allyne Bruxbie, of Shobie, Esq.
Margaret Hutchinson.—William Champernowne, Esq.

John Hutchinson, 2d son of James.—Daughter of John Conyers, Esq.
Barbara Hutchinson.—John Hathorne, of Cransweke, Esq.
William Hutchinson, of Cowlam, Esq.—Anne, daughter of William Bennet, of Theckley, Esq.
Second daughter.—John Ocam, Esq.
Eleanor Hutchinson.—Thomas Brown, Esq.

Oliver Hutchinson.—Daughter of John Tindall, Esq.
Judith, daughter of Thomas Crosland, Esq. first wife.—Anthony Hutchinson, of Cowland.—Isabell, daughter of Robert Harvie, Esq.
Mary Hutchinson.—Jevas Abtoste.
Alice Hutchinson.—William English.

Edmond, sixth son.
Leonard, fifth son.
John, third son.
William Hutchinson, Esq. eldest son.—Bridget, daughter of William Cake, of Westharleton, Esq.
Thomas Hutchinson, of Owethorpe, Esq. 2d son.—The dughter and heir of Mr. Drax, of Kynolton, county Notts.
Richard, the fourth son, supposed to have gone to Ireland.
Francis, the seventh son.
Andrew, the eighth son.

Grizell, eldest daughter of William.—John Reeps, Esq.
William Hutchinson, of Cowlam, Esq.—Ann, Daughter of Henry Layborne.
Joyce, second daughter.—Thomas Beed.
Isabell, third daughter.—Thomas Cooke.
William Hutchinson, of Owethorpe, Esq.—The daughter of Mr. Watson.
John Hutchinson, of Bassford.—Mary, daughter of Mr. Chamberlain.

Eldest daughter.—John Eplethwatt.
William Hutchinson, of Wykome Abbey, Com. Ebor.—Daughter of Mr. Dalton, of Kirby over Car, Com. Ebor.
Second daughter.—Richard Garret.
Elizabeth, the third daughter.—Mr. Bonnyeaton, of Greasby Castle.
Isabell, the second daughter.—Mr. Smith, of the Monks, near Lincoln.
Jane—Thomas Ellis, of Wyham, Esq.
Jane, daughter of Sir George Pierpont.—Thomas Hutchinson, of Owethorpe, Esq.—Elenor, daughter of Mr. George Zouche, of Codnor, county of Derby.

Thomas Hutchinson, of Owethorpe, Esq.—Jane, daughter and coheir of Mr. Sacheverell, of Ratclif upon Soar, in the county of Notts.
Dorothy Hutchinson.—... Warren, Esq.

Sir William Fitzwilliam, temp. R. Elizabethæ.

Sir William Fitzwilliam, John, Mary, and Philippa.
Margaret—Sir John Biron.

John and Richard, Lords Biron, five more sons and one daughter.
Margaret—Sir Thomas Hutchinson, Knt. ob. 18 August 1643, æt. 55, buried at St. Paul's, Covent-Garden, Middlesex.—Catherine, daughter of Sir John Stanhope, of Elvaston, and sister of Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, ob. 1694, æt. 102. Buried at St. Paul's, Covent-Garden, Middlesex.
Jane Hutchinson.—...Grantham.

John Hutchinson, ob. 11 September, 1663, æt. 49.—Lucie, daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, Lieut. of the Tower of London, to King Charles I. married 3 July 1638.
George Hutchinson. living 28 Apl 1678.—Barbary, daughter of Sir Allen Apsley.
died s. p.
Isabella. married C. Cotton in 1656, and was buried at Alstonefield co. Staff. 26 April 1669.
Isabella.—Charles Cotton, of Berrisford, county of Derby, Esq. ob 1687.
One son and four daughters. Berisford, son and heir, Olivia, mar. Dr. Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury; Katherine married Sir B. Lucy; and Jane married Beaumont Parkins, county of Notts, Esq.
Charles. 3 now. Ob. 1695, æt. 57. Buried at Owethorpe.—Isabella, daughter and coheir of Sir Francis Botiler, of Hatfield Woodhall, Herts.

Edward, Lucius, & four daughters, Ob. s. p.
Thomas Hutchinson, Ob. s. p.—Jane, daughter of Sir Alexander Radcliffe.
John Hutchinson, third son.—A daughter of . . . Morgan, of Wales.
Issue two sons.
Charles and Francis, first and second sons. Ob. s. p.
Thomas and Botiler, third and fourth sons. Ob. s. p.
Stanhope & Francis, fifth and sixth sons. Ob. s. p.
Julius Hutchinson. of Hartfield Co. Herts. ob. 29 Sep. 1771.—Betty, daughter of William Norton, of Wellow, Co. Hants. Esq.
John, Earl Kennedy, eldest son of the Earl of Cassilis. First husband. ob. 1700.—Elizabeth.—John Hamilton, Earl of Ruglen. Second husband. ob. 1744. s. p.
Isabella. Ob. cæl.

Thomas.—Ann, daughter of Sir Rd. Wrottesley.
Botiler. Ob. cæl.
Charles.—Ann Hanson. Ob. s. p.
Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. P. Waldo.—Norton.—Judith Scharm.
Julius. Ob. cæl.
Isabella.—Richard Norton, Esq. of Ixworth Abbey.

Thomas and Julius. Ob. cæl.
Julius. H. (The Editor.) of Woodhall ob 1 May 1811 æt. 50.
Thomas.
Cassandra.
Clarissa.
Isabella.
Norton.

3 Elizabeth. mar. 31 [illegible] 1817, Revd Henry Turner Dryden,

Sir Allen Apsley, Lieutenant of the Tower to James and Charles I.—Lucy, daughter of Sir William St. John.

Sir Allen Apsley.—Frances, daughter and heir of . . . Petre, of Bowkay, Esq.
Lucy, married to Col. Hutchinson.
Barbara, married to Lieut. Col. Hutchinson.

Sir Peter Apsley.
Francis.—Sir Benjamin Bathurst.

Peter. Ob. cæl.
Catherine. Heiress.—Allen, Lord Bathurst.
Peter, of Clarendon Park.
Benjamin, of Lydney Park.
Ann, married to Henry Pye, Esq. of Farringdon.

THE LIFE OF

JOHN HUTCHINSON,

OF OWTHORP,

IN THE COUNTY OF NOTTINGHAM, ESQUIRE.

He was the eldest surviving sonne of Sr. Thomas Hutchinson, and the lady Margarett, his first wife, one of the daughters of Sr. John Biron, of Newsted, in the same county, two persons so eminently vertuous and pious in their generations, that to descend from them was to sett up in the world upon a good stock of honor, which oblieg'd their posterity to improove it, as much as it was their privelledge to inheritt their parents glories. Sr. Thomas was he that remoov'd his dwelling to Owthorpe; his father, though he was possessor of that lordship, having dwelt at Cropwell, another towne, within two miles wherein he had an inheritance, which if I mistake not was the place where those of the family that begun to settle the name in this county first fixt their habitation. The famely for many generations past have bene of good repute in Yorkshire, and there is yett a gentleman in that county, descendant of the elder house, that possesses a faire estate and reputation in his father's auncient inheritance.[u] They have bene in Nottinghamshire for generations; wherein I observe that as if there had bene an Agrarian law in the famely, as soon as they arrived to any considerable fortune beyond his who was first transplanted hither, they began other houses, of which one is soone decay'd and worne out in an unworthy branch (he of Basford) another begins to flourish, and long may it prosper.[w] It is further observable in their descent that though none of them before Sr. Thomas Hutchinson advanc'd beyond an esquire, yet they successively matcht into all the most eminent and noble famelies in the country, which shewes that it was the unambitious genius of the famely rather than their want of meritt which made them keepe upon so even a ground after their first atchievements had sett them on a stage elevated enough from the vulgar to performe any honorable and vertuous actions. I spoke with one old man who had knowne five generations of them in these parts, where their hospitality, their love to their country, their plaine and honest conversation with all men, their generous and unambitious inclinations, had made the famely continue as well belov'd and reputed as any of the prouder houses in the country.[x] Although they chang'd not their titles, yet every succession encreast the reall honor of their house. One disadvantage they had, that few of them were so long liv'd as to prevent their sons from the bondage of wardship, whereby they fell into the hands of wicked guardians, that defac'd instead of cultivating their seates, and made every heir a new planter. Sir Thomas Hutchinson, as I have heard, was not above eight yeares of age when his father died, and his wardship fell into the hands of an unworthy person, Sr. Germaine Poole, who did him so many iniuries, that he was faine, after he came of age, to have suites with him. This so rays'd the mallice of the wicked man that he watcht an opportunity to assassinate him unawares, and as Sr. Thomas was landing out of a boate at the Temple staires in London, Poole having on a private coate, with some wicked assistants, before he was aware, gave him some cutts on the head and his left hand that was upon the boate; but he full of courage drew his sword, runne at Poole and broke his weapon, which could not enter his false armor, whereupon he runne in to him, resolv'd not to be murther'd without leaving some marke on the villaine; he bitt of his nose, and then, by the assistance God sent him of an honest waterman, being rescued, he was carried away, so sorely wounded that his life was in some danger: but the fact being made publick, his honorable carriage in it procur'd him a great deale of glory, and his adversary carried the marke of his shame to the grave.[y] After this returning into the country, he there liv'd with very much love, honor, and repute;

---

[u] At Wykeham Abbey, in the county of York, where it is believed they still reside.

[w] It stood only two generations; the last possessor, who was the great grandson of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, directing by his will the estate to be sold, and the produce given to strangers.

---

[x] Sir Thomas Hutchinson's son and grandson fell no way short of him in this.

---

[y] This is a singular tale, and savours almost too much of the ridiculous for the gravity of an historian: however Rushworth recites a story of this same man not a little resembling it. In the appendix to his 2d vol. ' Sir German Poole vowed revenge against a Mr. Brighthouse, shot two pistols at him out of a window, set two servants on him with swords, who ran him through the cloak between the arm and body, but killed him not, he defended himself effectually till Sir German came on, who wounded him, and for which he and another were committed to the Fleet, fined 1100l. &c.' This does not seem to have cured him; perhaps the mark set on him by Sir Thomas H. succeeded better. Did Charles the second take the hint from this when he set assassins to slit Mr. Coventry's nose, which caused the Coventry act to pass?

but having bene toss'd up and downe in his youth, and interrupted in his studies, he grew into such an excessive humor of bookes, that he wholly addicted himselfe to them, and deeply engaging in schoole divinity, spent even his houres of meate and sleepe among his bookes, with such eagernesse, that though he himselfe attain'd a high reputation of learning thereby, and indeed a greate improvement in wisedome and pietie, yett he too much depriv'd his deare friends and relations of his conversation. When he was enter'd into this studious life, God tooke from him his deare wife, who left him only two weake children; and then being extreamly aflicted for so deplorable a losse, he entertain'd his melancholy among the old fathers and schoolemen, instead of diverting it, and having furnisht himselfe with the choycest library in that part of England, it drew to him all the learned and religious men thereabouts, who found better resolutions from him then from any of his bookes. Living constantly in the country, he could not be exempted from administ'ring justice among them, which he did with such equitie and wisdome, and was such a defender of the countrie's interest, that, without affecting it at all, he grew the most popular and most belov'd man in the country, even to the envie of those prouder greate ones that despis'd the common interest. What others sought, he could not shun, being still sought by the whole county, to be their representative, to which he was several times elected,[z] and ever faithful to his trust and his countries interest, though never approoving violence and faction. He was a man of a most moderate and wise spiritt, but still so enclin'd to favour the oppressed saints and honest people of those times, that, though he conform'd to the government, the licentious and profane encroachers upon common native rights branded him with the reproach of the world, though the glory of good men, Puritanisme; yet notwithstanding he continued constant to the best interest, and died at London in the year 1643, a sitting member of that glorious Parliament that so generously attempted, and had almost effected, England's perfect liberte. He was a person of greate beautie and comelinesse in all ages,[a] of a bounteous and noble nature, of cleare courage, sweete and affable conversation, of a publick spiritt, of greate prudence and reputation, a true lover of all pious learned persons, and no lesse of honest plaine people, of a most tender conscience, and therefore declaring much for and endeavouring moderation, if it had bene possible in the beginning of our warrs that the greatest wisedome could have cast on any dropps of healing councel, to have allay'd the furious rage of both parties. Though never man was a deeper nor truer mourner than he for his first wife, yett that long dropping griefe did but soften his heart for the impression of a second love, which he conceiv'd for a very honorable and beautifull lady, who was Katherine the youngest daughter of Sr. John Stanhope, of Elvaston, a noble famely in Derbyshire, by whom he had a sonne and two daughters surviving him, not unworthy of their famely.

---

[z] He was omitted only in that parliament which was chosen at a time when he and other patriots were imprisoned to prevent their being re-elected. See note [e], page 73.

[a] His picture remained at Owthorpe, and very well justified this description, and is now in the Editor's possession in high preservation. For the bounty and nobleness of his nature take this instance from Thoroton's history of Notts. ' Henry Sacheverell, Esq. being dissatisfied with his only daughter for an improper marriage, left his whole estate at Ratcliff upon Soar to Sir Thomas Hutchinson, his sister's son, who willingly di-

Mr. John Hutchinson, the eldest of his surviving sons, by his first wife, was borne at Nottingham in the month of September, in the year 1616. That yeare there had bene a greate drought, by reason of which the country would not afford his father any provision

---

vided it with the disinherited lady.' His moiety came afterwards to Alderman Ireton, being sacrificed to him through necessity by Col. Hutchinson, as will hereafter be shewn.

for his stables, so that he was forc'd to remoove from Owthorpe to winter in the towne of Nottingham, somewhat before his lady's time of account. She being in the coach on her way thither, and seeing her husband in some danger by reason of a mettled horse he ridd upon, tooke a fright, and was brought to bed the next day, as they imagin'd some three weekes before her time, and they were confirm'd in that opinion by the weakenesse of the child, which continued all his infancy. When he was borne there was an elder brother in the famely, but he died a child. Two yeares and a half after this was Mr. George Hutchinson, his younger brother, borne at Owthorpe, and halfe a yeare after his birth the two children lost their mother, who died of a cold she had taken, and was buried at Owthorpe. She was a lady of a noble famely as any in the county, of an incomparable shape and beauty, embellisht with the best education those dayes afforded, and above all had such a generous virtue ioined with attractive sweetenesse, that she captivated the hearts of all that knew her: she was pious, liberall, courteous, patient, kind above an ordinary degree, ingenuous to all things she would applie herself to, and notwithstanding she had had her education att court, was delighted in her own country habitation, and managed all her famely affaires better than any of the homespun huswifes, that had been brought up to nothing elce: she was a most affectionate wife, a greate lover of her father's house, shewing that true honor to parents is the leading virtue, which seldome wants the concomitancy of all the rest of honor's traine. She was a wise and bountifull mistresse in her famely, a blessing to her tenants and neighbourhood, and had an indulgent tendernesse to her infants; but death veil'd all her mortal glories in the 26th year of her age. The stories I have receiv'd of her have bene but scanty epitaphs of those things which were worthy a large chronicle, and a better recorder then I can be, I shall therefore draw again the sable curtaine before that image which I have ventur'd to looke at a little, but dare not undertake to discover to others. One that was present at her death told me that she had an admirable voyce, and skill to manage it, and that she went away singing a psalme, which this maid apprehended she sung with so much more than usuall sweetenesse, as if her soule had bene already ascended into the cœlestial quire.

There is a story of her father and mother so memorable that though it be not alltogether pertinent to their grandchild's affaires, which I only intend, yet I shall here putt it in, since the third generation, for whom I make this collection, is not alltogether uncon-cern'd in the greate grandfather. He (the great grandfather) was not the eldest sonne of his father Sir John Biron, but had an elder brother that had married a private gentleman's daughter in the country, and so displeas'd his father in that match, that he intended an equall part of his estate to this Sr. John Biron, his younger sonne, and thereupon married him to a young lady who was one of the daughters of my lord Fitzwilliam, that had bene deputy of Ireland in the reigne of Queene Elizabeth, and liv'd as a prince in that country.[b] This daughter of his having an honorable aspiring to all things excellent, and being assisted by the greate education her father gave her, attained to a high degree of learning and language, to such an excellencie in musick and poetry, that she made rare compositions in both kinds; and there was not any of those extraordinary quallities, which are therefore more glorious, because more rare in the female sex, but she was excellent in them: and besides all these ornaments of soule, she had a body of as admirable forme and beauty, which iustly made her husband so infinitely enamour'd of her as never man was more. She could not sett too high a value on herselfe if she compared herselfe with other weomen of those times, yett it was an allay to her glories that she was a little griev'd that a lesse woman, the elder brother's wife, was superior to her in regard of her husband, tho' inferior in regard of her birth and person; but that griefe was soon remoov'd by a sad accident. That marriage, wherein the father had not bene obey'd, was fruitelesse, and the young gentleman himselfe, being given to youthful vanity, as he was one day to goe out a hunting with his father, had commanded something should be putt under the saddle of a young serving man, that was to goe out with them, to make sport at his affright, when his horse should proove unquiett. The thing succeeded as it was design'd, and made them such sport, that the young gentleman, in the passion of laughter, died, and turn'd their mirth into mourning; leaving a sad caveat by his example, to take heed of hazarding men's precious lives for a little sport. The younger brother by this means became the heire of the famely, and was father of a numerous and hopeful issue. But while the incomparable mother shin'd in all the humane glorie she wish't, and had the crowne of all outward felicity to the full, in the enioyment of the mutuall love of her most beloved husband, God in one moment tooke it away, and alienated her most excellent understanding in a difficult childbirth, wherein she brought forth two daughters, which liv'd to be married, and one more that died, I think, as soone or before it was borne:[c] but after that, all the art of the best physitians in England could never restore her understanding: yet she was not frantick, but had such a pretty deliration, that her ravings were more delightfull then other women's most rationall conversations. Upon this occasion, her husbande gave himselfe up to live retired with her, as became her condition, and made hast to marrie his sonne, which he did so young, that I have heard say when the first child was borne, the father, mother, and child, could not make one-and-thirty yeares old. The daughters and the rest of the children as soon as they grew up were married and disperst. I think I have heard she had some children after that childbirth which distemper'd her, and then my lady Hutchinson must have been one of them, for she was the youngest daughter, and at nine yeares old so taking, and of such an amiable conversation, that the lady Arabella[d] would needs take her from her parents, allong with her to the court, where she minded nothing but her lady, and grew up so intimate in all her councells, that the princesse was more delighted in her than in any of the weomen about her, but when she (the princess) was carried away from them to prison, my ladie's brother fetcht her home to his house; and there, although his wife, a most prudent and vertuous ladie, labour'd to comfort her with all imaginable kindnesse, yet soe constant was her frindship to the unfortunate princesse, as I have heard her servants say, even after her marriage, she would steale many melancholly houres to sitt and weepe in remembrance of her. Meanewhile her parents were driving on their age, in no lesse constancy of love to each other, when even that distemper which had estrang'd her mind in all things else, had left her love and obedience entire to her husband, and he retein'd the same fondnesse and respect for her, after she was distemper'd, as when she was the glory of her age. He had two beds in one chamber, and she being a little sick, two weomen watcht by her, some time before she died. It was his custome, as soon as ever he unclos'd his eies, to aske how she did; but one night, he being as they thought in a deepe sleepe, she quietly departed towards the morning. He was that day to have gone a hunting, his usuall exercise for his health, and it was his custome to have his chaplaine pray with him before he went out: the weomen, fearfull to surprize him with the ill newes, knowing his deare affection to her, had stollen out and acquainted the chaplaine, desiring him to informe him of it. Sr. John waking, did not on that day, as was his custome, ask for her, but call'd the chaplaine to prayers, and ioyning with him, in the middst of the prayer, expir'd, and both of them were buried together in the same grave. Whether he perceiv'd her death, and would not take notice, or whether some strange sympathy in love or nature, tied up their lives in one, or whether God was pleased to exercise an unusuall providence towards them, preventing them both from that bitter sorrow which such separations cause, it can be but coniectur'd; but the thing being not ordinary, and having receiv'd it from the relation of one of his daughters and his grandchild, I thought it not impertinent here to insert. I shall now proceed to our owne story.

---

[b] By mistake Mrs. Hutchinson calls him lord. The person here meant was Sir William Fitzwilliam, appointed governor of Ireland seven times, with the different titles of Lord Justice and Lord Deputy, by that distinguishing and judicious princess. A sufficient eulogy! From him descends in a direct line the present Earl Fitzwilliam. *Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis.* The reader will most likely find this episode too beautiful and affecting to think it needs the apology the writer makes.

---

[c] The twins here mentioned as daughters, are said by Thoroton to have been sons, viz. Sir John, presently herein spoken of as the brother-in-law of Sir Thomas Hutchinson, and Sir Nicholas, who served Charles the First with the same zeal as the rest of that family.

---

[d] By the lady Arabella is here meant the lady Arabella Stuart, whose romantic and melancholy story is told by Rapin, vol. ii. p. 161 and 189, in the reign of James the First, That mean soul'd tyrant shut her up in the Tower, where she died, not without suspicion of poison.

Assoone as my lady Hutchinson was dead, her brother, Sr. John Biron, came over, and found the most desolate aflicted widower that ever was beheld, and one of his sisters, the lady Ratcliffe, who was the deare sister of the dead lady, scarce allive for sorrow; and indeed such an universall lamentation in the house and neighbourhood, that the protraction of their griefes for such a funerall as was intended her, might possibly have made them all as she: Sr. John therefore the next morning privately, unknowne to her husband, with only her owne famely, carried her to the church, which was but the next door, and enterr'd her without further ceremony. It booted not Sr. Thomas to be angrie att her friend's care of him, who persued it so farre, that the next day he carried away Sr. Thomas, lady Radcliffe, and Mr. John Hutchinson, towards his own house at Bulwell, leaving Mr. George at his nurse's. But the horses of the coach, being mettled, in the halfway between Owthorpe and Nottingham runne away, overthrew it, and slightly hurt all that were in the coach; who all gott out, one by one, except the maid that had the child in her arms, and she stay'd as long as there was any hope of preventing the coach from being torn to pieces: but when she saw no stop could be given to the mad horses, she lapp'd him as close as she could in the mantle, and flung him as farre as she could from the coach into the plow'd lands, whose furrows were at that time very soft, and by the good providence of God the child, reserv'd to a more glorious death, had no apparent hurt. He was taken up and carried to Bulwell, where his aunt had such a motherly tendernesse for him, that he grew and prosper'd in her care. As the fresh memory and excessive love they bore the mother, endear'd the young child to all her relations at the first, so as he grew, he discover'd so much growing wisdome, agillity, and prettie spritefullnesse, had such a natural gravity without sullennesse, and such sweete innocence, that every child of the famely loved him better than their owne brothers and sisters, and Sr. John Biron and my lady were not halfe so fond of any of their owne. When it was time for them to go to schoole, both the brothers were sent to board with Mr. Theobalds, the master of the free schoole att Nottingham, who was an excellent schollar, but having no children, some wealth, and a little living that kept his house, first grew lazie, and after left of his schoole. Sr. Thomas then remoov'd his sons to the free schoole at Lincolne, where there was a master very famous for learning and piety, Mr. Clearke, but he was such a supercilious pedant, and so conceited of his own pedantique forms, that he gave Mr. Hutchinson a disgust of him, and he profited very little there. At this place it was that God began early to exercise him with afliction and temptation: he was depriv'd of the attendance and care he had bene us'd to, and mett with many inconveniences, unsuitable to his tender and nice constitution; but this was little, for he had such discretion in his childhood, that he understood what was fitt for him to require, and govern'd whereere he liv'd; for he would not be denied reasonable, and would not aske other things. He was as a father over his brother, and having some advantage of yeares, tooke upon him to be the guide of his youth, yet with such love, that never were children more commendable and happie in mutuall affections: but it pleas'd God to strike his brother with a sad disease, the falling sicknesse, wherein Mr. Hutchinson most carefully attended him while he continued at Lincolne, which his father permitted him to doe, for the opertunity of Dr. Pridgeon, one of the best physitians in those parts. When he had in veine exercis'd all his art on the young gentleman, and that he found no successe in it, he advis'd he should return to his father's house, and be entertain'd with all the sports that could be found to delight his mind or exercise his body. Accordingly he was carried home, and had a pack of hounds, huntsmen, and horses kept for him, and was something recreated, but not cured thereby, till afterward it pleased God to effect that cure by a young practitioner, which the ablest phisitians of the country could not worke. The separation from his brother to whom he had such an entire affection, consider'd with the sad occasion of it, was a greate afliction to the elder brother, who remain'd in a place where he had little to delight him, having an aversion to his austere pedantique master, and that encreast by an opinion that his severitie had bene the cause of his deare brother's distemper.

The greate encouragement Sr. Thomas had to trust his sons in this towne, was, because att that time, a gentleman inhabited there who had married his uncle's widow, and had bene his fellow-sufferer in a confinement in Kent, when King Charles the First had broken up a parliament to the disgust of the people, and durst not trust those gentlemen that had bene most faithfull defenders of their countries interests, to return for some time to their owne countries, for which they serv'd.[e] Of these worthy patriots Sr. Thomas Hutchinson and Sr. Thomas Grantham, the gentleman of whom I am speaking were confined from Nottingham and Lincolneshire to the house of one Sr. Adam Newton in Kent: the good father little thinking then, that in that fatall countrie, his sonne should suffer an imprisonment, upon the same account, to the destruction of his life and famely. Sr. Thomas Grantham was a gentleman of greate repute in his country, and kept up all his life the old hospitality of England, having a greate retinue and a noble table, and a resort of all the nobillity and gentry in those parts. He had only two sons, whereof the eldest was a fine gentleman, bred beyond the seas, according to the best education of those times; the other was a foolish youth, schoolefellow with Mr. Hutchinson, who every Saturday night was fetcht from schoole to Sr. Thomas Grantham's and return'd againe the Munday morning. Upon the intimate friendship betweene Sr. Thomas Hutchinson and this gentleman, Sr. Thomas Huchinson had a lodging always kept for him at Lincolne, and was very often there. My Lady Grantham had with her a very pretty young gentlewoman, whom she brought with her out of Kent, the daughter of Sr. Adam Newton; my lady's designe was to begin an early acquaintance, which might after draw on a marriage betweene her and Mr. Hutchinson, and it tooke such effect that there was a greate inclination in the young gentlewoman to him; and so much good nature on his side, as amounted to a mutuall respect, and such a friendship as their youth was capable of, which the parents and others that wisht soe, interpreted to be a passion of love; but if it were, death quencht the flame, and ravisht the young lady from him in the sweete blooming of her youth. That night she died, he lay in his father's chamber, and by accident being very sick, it was imputed to that cause, but he himselfe least perceiv'd he had any more of love for her, then gratitude for her kindnesse to him, upon which account her death was an afliction to him, and made that house, which had bene his reliefe from his hated schoole, lesse pleasant to him: especially when he mett there continuall solicitations to sin by the travel'd gentleman, who living in all seeming sobriety before his father, was in his owne chamber not only vicious himselfe, but full of endeavour to corrupt Mr. Hutchinson, who by the grace of God resisted and detested his frequent temptations of all kinds. The advantage he had at this schoole, there being very many gentlemen's sons there, an old low-country souldier was entertain'd to traine them in arms, and they all bought themselves weapons, and instead of childish sports, when they were not at their bookes, were exercis'd in all their military postures, and in assaults and defences; which instruction was not uselesse in a few years after, to some of them: Col. Thornhagh, who was now train'd in this sportive militia, with Col. Hutchinson, afterwards was his fellow souldier in earnest, when the great cause of God's and England's rights came to be disputed with swords against encroaching princes. Sr. Thomas Grantham dying, Mr. Hutchinson was removed from Lincolne to the free-schoole at Nottingham, where his father married a second wife, and for a while went up to London with her, leaving his sonne at bord in a very religious house, where new superstitious and pharisaical holiness, straining at gnatts and swallowing camels, gave him a little disgust, and was a while a stumbling block in his way of purer profession, when he saw among professors such unsuitable miscarriages. There was now a change in the condition and contentment of his life; he was old enough to be sensible that his father's second love and marriage to a person of such quallity, as required a settlement for her sonne, must needs be a lessening to his expectation, but he was so affectionate to his father that he receiv'd it very contentedly, and reioic'd in his remoove, comming from a supercilious pedant to a very honest man, who using him with respect, advanc'd him more in one month then the other did in a year. This tied him to no observation, nor restrein'd him from no pleasure, nor needed not, for he was so moderate when he was left at his liberty, that he needed no regulation. The familliar kindnesse of his master, made him now begin to love that which the other's austerity made him loath; and in a yeare's time he advanced exceedingly in learning, and was sent to Cambridge. He was made a fellow-commoner of Peter House, under the tuition of one Mr. Norwich, an admirable schollar, who, by his civill demeanor to him, wonne so much upon his good nature, that he lov'd and reverenc'd him as a father, and betooke himselfe with such delight to his studies that he attain'd to a great height of learning, perform'd public exercises in his colledge with much applause, and upon their importunity took a degree in the university, whereof he was at that time the grace, there not being any gentleman in the towne that lived with such regularity in himselfe, and such generall love and good esteeme of all persons as he did. He kept not companie with any of the vaine young persons, but with the graver men, and those by whose conversation he might gaine improovement. He was constant at their chapell, where he began to take notice of their stretching superstition to idolatry; and was courted much into a more solemne practice of it then he could admit, though yet he considered not the emptinesse and carnallitie, to say no more, of that public service which was then in use. For his exercise he practised tennis, and play'd admirable well att it; for his diversion, he chose music, and gott a very good hand, which afterwards he improov'd to a greate mastery on the violl; there were masters that taught to dance and vault, whom he practis'd with, being very agile and apt for all such becoming exercises; his father stinted not his expence, which the bounty of his mind made pretty large, for he was very liberall to his tutors, and servitors, and to the meaner officers of the house. He was entic'd to bow to their greate idoll learning, and had a higher veneration for it a long time than can strictly be allow'd, yet he then look'd upon it as a handmaid to devotion, and as the greate improover of natural reason. His tutor and the masters that govern'd the colledge while he was there, were of Arminian principles, and that colledge was noted above all for popish superstitious practises, yet through the grace of God, notwithstanding the mutuall kindnesse the whole household had for him, and he for them, he came away, after five yeares study there, untainted with those principles or practises, though not yet enlightened to discerne the spring of them in the rights and usages of the English church.

---

[e] This piece of history is mentioned by Rapin, Sir Thomas Grantham is named, but Sir Thomas Hutchinson and many others not named. It appears, in Thoroton's History of Nottingham, edited by Throsby, that this confinement so far answered the purpose of Charles the First, that it caused another to be chosen instead of Sr. Thomas Hutchinson, Knight of the shire; but as soon as Sir Thomas got free, he was again chosen, and continued to represent the county till his death.

When he came from the university, he was about twenty yeares of age, and returned to his father's house, who had now settled his habitation at Nottingham; but he there enjoyed no great delight, another brood of children springing up in the house, and the servants endeavouring with tales and flatteries to sow dissention on both sides. Therefore, having a greate reverence for his father, and being not willing to disturb him with complaints, as soon as he could obteine his leave he went to London. In the meane time, the best company the towne afforded him, was a gentleman of as exquisite breeding and parts as England's Court ever enjoy'd, one that was now married, and retir'd into this towne, one of such admirable power of language and perswasion as was not anie where else to be found; but after all this, discontents, or the debaucheries of the times, had so infected him, that he would not only debauch himselfe, but make a delight to corrupt others for his sport: some he would commend into such a vaineglorious humor, that they became pleasantly ridiculous; some he would teach apish postures, and make them believe themselves rare men, some he would encourage to be poets, and laugh at their ridiculous rhymes, some young preachers he would make stage-players in their pulpitts, and severall wayes sported himself with the follies of most of the young men that he convers'd with. There was not any way which he left unpractis'd upon Mr. Hutchinson; but when, with all his art and industry, he found he could not prevaile, then he turn'd seriously to give him such excellent advice and instructions for living in the world, as were not afterward unuseful to him.[f] There was besides this gentleman a young physitian, who was a good schollar and had a great deale of witt, but withal a profest atheist, and so proud insolent a scurrilous fellow, daring to abuse all persons how much soever above him, that he was throwne out of familliarity with the greate people of the country, though his excellency in his profession made him to be taken in againe. — There was alsoe an old man, who had bene Mr. Hutchinson's first schoolemaster, a person once of greate learning, but afterwards becoming a cinick, yet so pleasantly maintaining that kind of humor, that his conversation was sometimes a good diversion. These were Mr. Hutchinson's companions, yet, through the grace of God, had not power to infect him, who, like a bee, suckt a greate deale of honie from these bitter flowers. At that time, there was in the towne a young maid, beautifull, and esteemed to be very rich, but of base parentage and penurious education, though else ingenuous enough: she was the grandchild of an old phisitian, and from her childhood having bene acquainted with Mr. Hutchinson, who used to visit her grandmother, she had conceived a kindnesse for him, which though he civilly resented,[g] his greate heart could never stoope to thinke of marrying into so mean a stock; yet by reason of some liking he shew'd of her company, and the melancholly he had, with some discontents at home, she was willing to flatter herselfe that it was love for her, wherein, when she discover'd her mistake it was a greate griefe. However, she was, without much love on either side, married to an earle's sonne, and both of them, wanting the ground of happinesse in marriage, muttuall love, enioy'd but little felicity, either in their greate fortunes or in one another.[1]

---

[f] Who the first gentleman was does no where appear. The Physician here meant, is Dr. Plumtre, of whom much more will be said in this work.

---

[g] Resent, in English, seldom used but in a bad sense; in French, *ressentir* is used to signify a reciprocal sentiment of kindness as well as unkindness.

In the house with Mr. Hutchinson, there was a young gentlewoman, of such admirable tempting beauty, and such excellent good nature, as would have thaw'd a rock of ice, yett even she could never gett an acquaintance with him: wealth and beauty thus in vaine tempted him, for it was not yett his time of love: but it was not farre of. He was now sent to London, and admitted of Lincoln's Inne, where he was soone coveted into the acquaintance of some gentlemen of the house, but found them so frothy and so vaine, and could so ill centre with them in their delights, that the towne began to be tedious to him, who was neither taken with wine, nor game, nor the converse of wicked or vaine weomen, to all which he wanted not powerfull tempters, had not the power of God's grace in him bene above them. He tried a little the study of the law, but finding it unpleasant and contrary to his genius, and the plague that spring beginning to drive people out of the towne, he began to thinke of leaving it, but had no inclination to returne home, finding his father's heart so sett upon his second famely, that his presence was but disturbance: yet his father was wonderfully free and noble to him in allowance, at all places, as large as any of his quallity had made to them, and it was very well bestow'd on him, who consum'd nothing in vaine expence, but liv'd to the honor of his friends and famely. For his diversion, he exercis'd himselfe in those quallities he had not had so good opertunities for in the country, as dancing, fencing, and musick, wherein he had greate aptnesse and addresse, and entertaining the best tutors, was at some expense that way, and loath to leave them of before he had perfected himselfe. However, manie things putting him into the thoughts of quitting the towne, while he was in deliberation how to dispose of himselfe, and had some reflections upon travell, a cousin german of his, a French merchant, came to visit him one morning, and told him, he was immediately going into France, and understanding Mr. Hutchinson had some such inclination, had allmost perswaded him to goe along with him. The only obstacle in the way was, that his father could not be acquainted with it time enough to receive his answer before they went. While he was in this deliberation, his musick-master came in, to whom he communicated his thoughts, and the man told him, it was better to go into France, att the latter end then the beginning of summer, and that if he pleas'd, in the meane time, to go to Richmond, where the Prince's court was, he had a house there, where he might be accommodated, and there was very good company and recreations, the king's hawkes being kept neere the place, and severall other conveniences. Mr. Hutchinson considering this, resolv'd to accept his offer; and that day telling a gentleman of the house whither he was going, the gentleman bid him take heed of the place, for it was so fatall for love, that never any young disengag'd person went thither, who return'd againe free. Mr. Hutchinson laught at him, but he to confirme it, told him a very true story of a gentleman, who not long before had come for some time to lodge there, and found all the people he came in company with, bewailing the death of a gentlewoman, that had lived there. Hearing her so much deplor'd he made enquiry after her, and grew so in love with the description, that no other discourse could at first please him, nor could he at last endure any other; he grew desperately melancholly, and would goe to a mount where the print of her foote was cutt, and lie there pining and kissing of it all the day long, till att length death in some months space concluded his languishment. This story was very true; but Mr. Hutchinson was neither easie to believe it, nor frighted at the example; thinking himselfe not likely to make another. He therefore went to Richmond, where he found a greate deale of good young company, and many ingenuous persons, that by reason of the court, where the young princes were bred, entertain'd themselves in that place, and had frequent resort to the house where Mr. Hutchinson tabled: the man being a skilfull composer in musick, the rest of the king's musitians often met at his house to practise new ayres and prepare them for the king; and divers of the gentlemen and ladies that were affected with musick, came thither to heare; others that were not, tooke that pretence, to entertain themselves with the companie. Mr. Hutchinson was soone courted into their acquaintance and invited to their houses, where he was nobly treated, with all the attractive arts, that young weomen and their parents use to procure them lovers, but though some of them were very handsome, others wealthy, wittie, well qualified, all of them sett out with all the gayety and bravery, that vaine weomen put on to sett themselves of, yet Mr. Hutchinson could not be entangled in any of their fine snares, but without any taint of incivility, in such a way of handsome rallerie reproov'd their pride and vanitie as made them asham'd of their glory, and vext that he alone, of all the young gentlemen, that belong'd to the court or neighbourhood, should be insensible of their charms. In the same house with him, there was a younger daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, late lieftenant of the Tower, tabled for the practice of her lute, till the returne of her mother, who was gone into Wiltshire for the accomplishment of a treaty that had bene made some progresse in, about the marriage of her elder daughter, with a gentleman of that country, out of which my lady herself came, and where her brothers Sr. John St. John and Sr. Edward Hungerford, living in greate honor and reputation, had invited her to a visitt of them. This gentlewoman, that was left in the house with Mr. Hutchinson, was a very child, her elder sister being at that time scarcely past it, but a child of such pleasantnesse, and vivacity of spiritt, and ingenuity in the quallity she practis'd, that Mr. Hutchinson tooke pleasure in hearing her practise, and would fall in discourse with her. She having the keyes of her mother's house, some halfe a mile distant, would some times aske Mr. Hutchinson, when she went over, to walk along with her: one day when he was there, looking upon an odde byshelf, in her sister's closett, he found a few Latine bookes; asking whose they were, he was told they were her elder sister's, whereupon, enquiring more after her, he began first to be sorrie she was gone, before he had seene her, and gone upon such an account, that he was not likely to see her; then he grew to love to heare mention of her, and the other gentleweomen who had bene her companions, used to talke much to him of her, telling him how reserv'd and studious she was, and other things which they esteem'd no advantage; but it so much inflam'd Mr. Hutchinson's desire of seeing her, that he began to wonder at himselfe that his heart, which had ever had such an indifferency for the most excellent of weomenkind, should have so strong impulses towards a stranger, he never saw; and certainly it was of the Lord, (though he perceiv'd it not), who had ordein'd him, through so many various providences, to be yoak'd with her in whom he found so much satisfaction. There scarcely past any day, but some accident or some discourse still kept alive his desire of seeing this gentlewoman, although the mention of her, for the most part, was enquiries whether she had yett acomplisht the marriage that was in treaty. One day there was a greate deale of company mett att Mr. Coleman's the gentleman's house where he tabled, to heare the musick, and a certeine song was sung, which had bene lately sett, and gave occasion to some of the company to mention an answer to it, which was in the house, and upon some of their desires read: a gentleman saying 'twas believed that a woman in the neighbourhood had made it, it was presently enquir'd who? whereupon a gentleman, then present, who had made the first song, sayd there were but two weomen that could be guilty of it, whereof one was a lady then among them, the other Mrs. Apsley. Mr. Hutchinson, fancying something of rationality in the sonnett, beyond the customary reach of a shewitt, although, to speake truth, it signified very little, addrest himselfe to the gentleman, and told him, he could scarcely believe it was a woman's, whereupon this gentleman, who was a man of good understanding and expression, and inspir'd with some passion for her himselfe, which made him regard all her perfections through a multiplying glasse, told Mr. Hutchinson, that though for civillity to the rest, he entitled another ladie to the song, yet he was confident it was Mrs. Apsley's only, for she had sence above all the rest, and fell into such high prayses of her, as might well have begotten those vehement desires of her acquaintance, which a strange sympathie in nature had before produc'd: another gentleman, that sate by, seconded this commendation, with such additions of prayse, as he would not have given if he had known her. Mr. Hutchinson hearing all this, sayd to the first gentleman, I cannot be at rest till this ladie's returne, that I may be acquainted with her; the gentleman replied, "Sir, you must not expect that, for she is of an humour she will not be acquainted with any of mankind, and however this song is stolen forth, she is the nicest creature in the world of suffering her perfections to be knowne, she shuns the converse of men as the plague, she only lives in the enioyment of herself and has not the humanitie to communicate that happiness to any of our sex." "Well," sayd Mr. Hutchinson, "but I will be acquainted with her;" and indeed the information of this reserv'd humour pleas'd him, more than all elce he had heard, and fill'd him now with thoughts how he should attaine the sight and knowledge of her. While he was exercis'd in this, many days past not, but a footeboy of my lady her mother's came to young Mrs. Apsley [1] as they were at dinner bringing newes that her mother and sister would in few dayes return; and when they enquir'd of him, whether Mrs. Apsley was married; having before bene instructed to make them believe it, he smiled, and pull'd out some bride laces, which were given at a wedding, in the house where she was, and gave them to the young gentlewoman and the gentleman's daughter of the house, and told them Mrs. Apsley bade him tell no news, but give them those tokens, and carried the matter so, that all the companie believ'd she had been married. Mr. Hutchinson immediately turned pale as ashes, and felt a fainting to seize his spiritts, in that extraordinary manner, that finding himselfe ready to sinke att table, he was faine to pretend something had offended his stomach, and to retire from the table into the garden, where the gentleman of the house going with him, it was not necessary for him to feigne sicknesse, for the distemper of his mind had infected his body with a cold sweate and such a dispersion of spiritt, that all the courage he could at present recollect was little enough to keep him alive.

---

[1] It is written in the margin by Julius Hutchinson, Esq. probably from the information given him by Lady Catharine Hutchinson, that this lady's name was Martin, and the gentleman who married her Mr. Pierrepont. It would not have been thought worth while to inform the reader of these minute particulars in a note, but for the sake of pointing out the accuracy with which Mr. Julius Hutchinson read and remarked upon this history, and the full knowledge he had of all the circumstances of Col. Hutchinson's life.

---

[1] It was the custom at that time to call young ladies Mistress, not Miss. Shakespeare calls Ann Page, Mrs. Ann.

His host was very troublesome to him, and to be quitt of him he went to his chamber, saying he would lie downe. Little did any of the company suspect the true cause of his sudden qualme, and they were all so troubled att it, that the boy then past without further examination. When Mr. Hutchinson was alone he began to recollect his wisdome and his reason, and to wonder att himselfe, why, he should be so concern'd in an unknowne person; he then remember'd the story was told him when he came downe, and began to believe there was some magick in the place, which enchanted men out of their right sences; but it booted him not to be angrie att himselfe, nor to sett wisedome in her reprooving chaire, nor reason in her throne of councell, the sick heart could not be chid nor adviz'd into health; this anxiety of mind affected him so, that it sent him to his bed that afternoone, which indeed he tooke to entertaine his thoughts alone that night, and having fortified himselfe with resolution, he gate up the next day, but yett could not quitt himself of an extravagant perplexitie of soule, concerning this unknown gentlewoman, which had not bene admirable in another light person, but in him, who was from his childhood so serious and so rationall in all his considerations, it was the effect of a miraculous power of providence, leading him to her that was destin'd to make his future joy. While she so ran in his thoughts, meeting the boy againe, he found out, upon a little stricter examination of him, that she was not married, and pleas'd himselfe in the hopes of her speedy returne, when one day, having been invited by one of the ladies of that neighbourhood, to a noble treatment at Sion Garden, which a courtier, that was her servant, had made for her and whom she would bring, Mr. Hutchinson, Mrs. Apsley, and Mr. Coleman's daughter, were of the partie, and having spent the day in severall pleasant divertisements, att evening they were att supper, when a messenger came to tell Mrs. Apsley her mother was come. She would immediately have gone, but Mr. Hutchinson, pretending civillity to conduct her home, made her stay 'till the supper was ended, of which he eate no more, now only longing for that sight, which he had with such perplexity expected. This at length he obteined; but his heart being prepossesst with his owne fancy, was not free to discerne how little there was in her to answer so greate an expectation. She was not ugly, in a carelesse riding-habitt, she had a melancholly negligence both of herselfe and others, as if she neither affected to please others, nor tooke notice of anie thing before her; yet spite of all her indifferency, she was surpriz'd with some unusuall liking in her soule, when she saw this gentleman, who had haire, eies, shape, and countenance enough to begett love in any one at the first, and these sett of with a gracefull and generous mine, which promis'd an extraordinary person; he was at that time, and indeed always very neatly habited, for he wore good and rich clothes, and had variety of them, and had them well suited and every way answerable, in that little thing, shewing both good iudgement and greate generosity, he equally becoming them and they him, which he wore with such unaffectednesse and such neatenesse as doe not often meete in one. Although he had but an evening sight of her he had so long desir'd, and that at disadvantage enough for her, yett the prevailing sympathie of his soule, made him thinke all his paynes well payd, and this first did whett his desire to a second sight, which he had by accident the next day, and to his ioy found she was wholly disengag'd from that treaty, which he so much fear'd had been accomplisht; he found withall, that though she was modest, she was accostable and willing to entertaine his acquaintance. This soone past into a mutuall friendship betweene them, and though she innocently thought nothing of love, yet was she glad to have acquir'd such a friend, who had wisedome and vertue enough to be trusted with her councells, for she was then much perplext in mind; her mother and friends had a greate desire she should marry, and were displeas'd that she refus'd many offers which they thought advantageous enough; she was obedient, loath to displease them, but more herselfe, in marrying such as she could find no inclination to. The troublesome pretensions of some of the courtiers, had made her willing to trie whether she could bring her heart to her mother's desire, but being by a secret working, which she then understood not, averted, she was troubled to returne, lest some might believe it was a secret liking of them which had caus'd her dislike of others, and being a little disturb'd with these things and melancholly, Mr. Hutchinson, appearing, as he was, a person of vertue and honor, who might be safely and advantageably converst with, she thought God had sent her a happy reliefe. Mr. Hutchinson, on the other side, having bene told, and seeing how she shun'd all other men, and how civilly she entertain'd him, believ'd that a secret power had wrought a mutuall inclination betweene them, and dayly frequented her mother's house, and had the opertunitie of conversing with her in those pleasant walkes, which, at that sweete season of the spring, invited all the neighbouring inhabitants to seeke their ioyes; where, though they were never alone, yet they had every day opertunity for converse with each other, which the rest shar'd not in, while every one minded their owne delights.

They had not six weekes enioy'd this peace, but the young men and weomen, who saw them allow each other that kindnesse which they did not afford commonly to others, first began to grow iealous and envious at it, and after to use all the mallitious practises they could invent to breake the friendship. Among the rest, that gentleman, who at the first had so highly commended her to Mr. Hutchinson, now began to caution him against her, and to disparedge her, with such subtile insinuations, as would have ruin'd any love, lesse constant and honorable then his. The weomen, with wittie spite, represented all her faults to him, which chiefly terminated in the negligence of her dress and habitt, and all womanish ornaments, giving herselfe whollie up to studie and writing. Mr. Hutchinson, who had a very sharpe and pleasant witt, retorted all their mallice with such iust reproofes of their idlenesse and vanity, as made them hate her, who, without affecting it, had so engag'd such a person in her protection, as they with all their arts could not catch. He in the meanewhile prosecuted his love, with so much discretion, duty, and honor, that at the length, through many difficulties, he accomplisht his designe. I shall passe by all the little amorous relations, which if I would take the paynes to relate, would make a true history of a more handsome management of love then the best romances describe:[k] for these are to be forgotten as the vanities of youth, not worthy mention among the greater transactions of his life. There is this only to be recorded, that never was there a passion more ardent and lesse idolatrous; he lov'd her better than his life, with inexpressable tendernesse and kindnesse, had a most high obliging esteeme of her, yet still consider'd honour, religion, and duty, above her, nor ever suffer'd the intrusion of such a dotage as should blind him from marking her imperfections: these he look'd upon with such an indulgent eie, as did not abate his love and esteeme of her, while it augmented his care to blott out all those spotts which might make her appeare lesse worthy of that respect he pay'd her; and thus indeed he soone made her more equall to him then he found her; for she was a very faithfull mirror, reflecting truly, though but dimmely, his owne glories upon him, so long as he was present; but she, that was nothing before his inspection gave her a faire figure, when he was remoov'd, was only fill'd with a darke mist, and never could againe take in any delightfull obiect, nor returne any shining representation. The greatest excellencie she had was the power of apprehending and the vertue of loving his: soe as his shadow, she waited on him every where, till he was taken into that region of light, which admitts of none, and then she vanisht into nothing. 'Twas not her face he lov'd, her honor and her vertue were his mistresses, and these (like Pigmalion's) images of his own making, for he polisht and gave forme to what he found with all the roughness of the quarrie about it; but meeting with a compliant subiect for his owne wise government, he found as much satisfaction as he gave, and never had occasion to number his marriage among his infelicities. That day that the friends on both sides met to conclude the marriage, she fell sick of the small pox, which was many wayes a greate triall upon him; first her life was allmost in desperate hazard, and then the disease for the present, made her the most deformed person that could be sene, for a great while after she recover'd; yett he was nothing troubled at it, but married her as soone as she was able to quit the chamber, when the priest and all that saw her were affrighted to looke on her: but God recompenc'd his iustice and constancy, by restoring her, though she was longer then ordinary before she recover'd, as well as before. One thing is very observable, and worthy imitation in him; although he had as strong and violent affections for her, as ever any man had, yet he declar'd it not to her till he had acquainted first his father, and after never would make any engagement but what his love and honor bound him in, wherein he was more firme and iust then all the promisarie oathes and ties in the world could have made him, notwithstanding many powerfull temptations of wealth and beauty, and other interests, that were laid before him; for his father had concluded another treaty, before he knew his son's inclinations were this way fixt, with a party in many things much more advantageable for his famely, and more worthy of his liking: but his father was no lesse honorably indulgent to his son's affection, then the sonne was strict in the observance of his duty, and at length, to the full content of all, the thing was accomplisht, and on the third day of July, in the yeare 1638, he was married to Mrs. Lucy Apsley, the second daughter of Sr. Allen Apsley, late lieftenant of the Tower of London, at St. Andrew's church in Holborne. He liv'd some time in this neighbourhood with her mother, but foure months were scarce past after their marriage before he was in greate danger to have lost her, when she lost two children she had conceiv'd by him. Soone after conceiving againe, she grew so sickly, that her indulgent mother and husband, for the advantage of her health, remoov'd their dwelling out of the city, to a house they tooke in Enfield chace, called the Blew House, where, upon the third of September 1639, she was brought to bed of two sonns, whereof the elder he named after his owne father, Thomas, the younger was call'd Edward, who both surviv'd him. September 1641 she brought him another sonne, call'd by his owne name, John, who liv'd scarce six yeares, and was a very hopefull child, full of his father's vigor and spiritt, but death soone nipt that blossome.

---

[k] Will not many regret that she passes so transiently these scenes of tenderness and sentiment?

Mr. Hutchinson, after about 14 months various exercise of his mind, in the persuite of his love, being now at rest in the enioyment of his wife, his next designe was to draw her into his owne country, but he would not set upon it too roughly, and therefore lett her rest awhile, when he had drawne her ten miles nearer it, out of the city where she had

had her birth and education, and where all her relations were most conversant, and which she could not suddainely resolve to quitt for altogether, to betake herself to the north, which was a formidable name among the London ladies. While she was weaning from the friends and places she so had long converst in, Mr. Hutchinson employ'd his time in making an entraunce upon the study of schoole divinity, wherein his father was the most eminent schollar of any gentleman in England, and had a most choyce library[1], vallued at a thousand pounds; which Mr. Hutchinson mistakingly expecting to be part of his inheritance, thought it would be very inglorious for him not to understand how to make use of his father's bookes. Having therefore gotten into the house with him an excellent schollar in that kind of learning, he for two yeares made it the whole employment of his time. The gentleman that assisted him he converted to a righte beliefe in that greate poynt of predestination, he having bene before of the

---

[1] This is spoken of in the preface, and did in fact remain at Owthorpe, but probably was placed there by Charles, the son of Sir Thomas Hutchinson by his second wife: it was of excessively small value when taken possession of in the year 1776.

It is apparent, from Sir Thomas Hutchinson being upon all the committees for religion, as may be seen in Rushworth's collection, that he was in repute for this kind of knowledge.

Arminian iudgment, till upon the serious examination of both principles, and comparing them with the scriptures, Mr. Hutchinson convinc'd him of the truth, and grew so well instructed in this principle, that he was able to maintaine it against any man. At that time, this greate doctrine grew much out of fashion with the prelates, but was generally embrac'd by all religious and holy persons in the land. Mr. Hutchinson being desirous to informe himselfe thoroughly of it, when he was able to manage the question, offer'd it to his father, but Sir Thomas would not declare himselfe in the poynt to him, nor indeed in any other, as we conceiv'd, least a father's authority should sway against his children's light, who he thought ought to discerne things with their own eies, and not with his. Mr. Hutchinson taking delight in the study of divinity, presently left off all foollish nice poynts, that tended to nothing but vaine brangling, and employ'd his whole study in laying a foundation of sound and necessary principles, among which he gave the first place to this of God's absolute decrees. This was so farre from producing a carelessnesse of life in him, a thing generally obiected against this faith [m], that, on the other side, it excited him to a more strict and holy walking in thankefullnesse to God, who had bene pleas'd to chuse him out of the corrupted masse of lost mankind, to fix his love upon him, and give him the knowledge of himself by his ever blessed Sonne. This principle of love and life in God, which had bene given him when he discern'd not what it was in himselfe, had from a child preserv'd him from wallowing in the mire of sinne and wickednesse, wherein most of the gentry of those times were miserably plunged, except a few, that were therefore the scorne of mankind; and but few of those few, that had not naturall and superstitious follies, that were in some kind iustly ridiculous and contemptible. It was a remarkable providence of God in his life, that must not be past over without spe-

---

[m] Mrs. Hutchinson, in exculpating her husband, goes no part of the way towards shewing that the natural tendency of this principle differs from that which is objected against it, but

---

merely that he resisted this bias from another consideration. This is certainly not a suitable place to discuss such a subject; and it is therefore dismissed with this remark, that the partizans of the two opposite, or supposed opposite, principles of predestination and free will, while they endeavour to implicate each other in absurdity and irreligion, agree in practice, and, guiding their actions by the best discretion they are masters of, end with referring the event to Providence, and praying to God for a blessing on their endeavours:—much more rational in so doing than farther exposing the weakness of human understanding by disquisitions far too refined for its reach. The conduct of modern times is in this respect more commendable than that of the past.

ciall notice, that he gave him these two yeares leizure, and a heart so to employ it, before the noyse of warre and tumult came upon him. Yett about the yeare 1639 the thunder was heard afarre of rattling in the troubled ayre, and even the most obscured woods were penetrated with some flashes, the forerunners of the dreadfull storme which the next yeare was more apparent; but Mr. Hutchinson was not yet awaken'd till it pleased God to deliver him from a danger into which he had runne himselfe, had not mercy prevented him. His wife having allready two sons, and being againe with child, consider'd that it would be necessary to seeke an augmentation of revenue, or retire into a cheaper country; and more enclining to the first, then to leave att once her mother, and all the rest of her deare relations, had propounded to him to buy an office, which he was not of himselfe very inclinable to, but, to give her and her mother satisfaction, he hearkened to a motion that was made him in that kind. Sr. William Pennieman, who had married his cousin-german, a very worthy gentleman, who had greate respect both for and from his father, had purchas'd the chiefe office in the starre chamber; the gentleman who held the next to him was carelesse and debosht, and thereby a greate hinderance of Sr. William's profitts, who apprehended if he could gett an honest man into that place, that they might mutually much advantage each other; whereupon he perswaded Mr. Hutchinson to buy the place, and offer'd him any termes, to goe any share with him, or any way he could desire. Mr. Hutchinson treated with the gentleman, came to a conclusion, went downe into the country, provided the money, and came up againe, thinking presently to enter into the office; but the gentleman that should have sold it, being of an uncerteine humor, thought to make the benefit of another terme, before he sold his place; and it pleas'd God in the meane time that arbitrary court was, by the parliament then sitting, taken away. Mr. Hutchinson was very sensible of a peculiar providence to him herein, and resolv'd to adventure no more such hazards, but to retire to that place whither God seem'd to have call'd him by giving him so good an interest there, and to study how he was to emproove that talent. His wife convinc'd by this kind check which God had given to her desires, that she ought to follow her husband where the Lord seem'd to call him, went allong with him, and about October 1641 they came to their house at Owthorpe. Here Mr. George Hutchinson (Sr. Thomas being then chosen knight for Nottinghamshire, and sitting in the parliament at

London) came and gave a glad entertainement of his brother and sister into the country, by his good company, and they were for a few months peacefull and happie in their own house, till the kingdome began to blaze out with the long-conceived flame of civill warre. But here I must make a short digression from our particular actions, to summe up the state of the kingdome at that time, which though I cannot doe exactly, yet I can truly relate what I was then able to take notice of, and if any one have a desire of more particular information, there were so many bookes then written, as will sufficiently give it them: and although those of our enemies are all fraught with abominable lies, yett if all ours were supprest, even their owne writings impartially consider'd would be a sufficient chronicle of their injustice and oppression; but I shall only mention what is necessary to be remembered, for the better carrying on of my purpose.[n]

---

[n] In a small book, without the author's name, preserved in the British Museum, and which is entitled, a Parallel of Clarendon and Whitelock, this is set in the clearest light possible, and in a variety of instances the unfaithfulness of Clarendon's testimony made evident by the production of palpable self-contradictions. Most of those who read the summary account Mrs. Hutchinson gives of the public transactions, will extremely regret that she was not much more full in it, seeing the candour and perspicuity with which she writes: short as

When the dawne of the gospell began to breake upon this isle, after the darke midnight of papacy, the morning was more cloudy here then in other places by reason of the state interest, which was mixing and working itselfe into the interest of religion, and which in the end quite wrought it out. King Henry the Eighth, who by his royall authority cast out the pope, did not intend the people of the land should have any ease of oppression, but only change their forreigne yoake for homebred fetters, deviding the pope's spoyles betweene himselfe and his bishops, who cared not for their father at Rome, so long as they enioy'd their patrimony and their honours here under another head: soe that I cannot subscribe to those who entitle that king to the honour of the reformation. But even then there wanted not many who discern'd the corruptions that were retein'd in the church, and eagerly applied their endeavours to obteine a purer reformation, against whom those who saw no need of further reformation, through excess of ioy for that which was allready brought forth, or

---

it is, however, it will be found to throw light upon many obscure points, and, from being so much concentrated, will be useful and acceptable to many, as serving to fix a general and just idea of the public mind, as well as transactions, in the times of which she treats.

else through a secret love of superstition rooted in their hearts, thought this too much, were bitterly incens'd, and hating that light which reproov'd their darknesse, every where stirr'd up spiritts of envy and persecution against them. Upon the greate revolution which tooke place at the accession of Queene Elizabeth to the crown, the nation became divided into three greate factions, the papist, the state protestant, and the more religious zelotts, who afterward were branded with the name of Puritane. In vaine it was for these to addresse to the queene and the parliament; for the bishops, under the specious pretences of uniformity and obedience, procur'd severe punishments to be inflicted on such as durst gainsay their determinations in all things concerning worship, whereupon some even in those godly dayes lost their lives.

The papists had a most inveterate hatred to all the protestants, but especially to those who were godly°, and they againe many of them suffer'd their zeale to runne out into bitter personall hate. Betweene these two extreames, the common protestant was in the middle, though I cannot reckon them as a vertuous medium; for of them the more pro-

---

° Godly. The name always given by the Puritans to those of their own party, and not unfrequently so used by different sectaries at the present day.

phane and ignorant only left popery because it grew out of fashion, but in their hearts inclin'd that way; those who were peaceable, conscientious, or morall persons, enclin'd to the puritane; of whom there were many that unwillingly bore the burthen of the cerimonies, for quietnesse sake, and through false doctrine of their unfaithfull teachers, as well as some that discern'd the base and carnall minds of those seducers, and would not be perswaded by them to defile their consciences: the former sort of these, in zeale to reduce the whole land from their idolatrous practices, procur'd lawes and invented oathes to suppresse popery, which they little thought, but wee now sadly find, are the bitterest engines to batter downe the pure worship and destroy the pure worshippers of God; which I have often looked upon as an evidence that God is not pleas'd with the conversions that are enforc'd by men's lawes. We have spirituall weapons given us for spirituall combates, and those who go about to conquer subiects for Christ with swords of steele, shall find the base metall breake to shivers when it is used, and hurtfully flie in their owne faces.

About the time of the reformation, there was a greate change in the civill interest of all that part of the world which had long layne under the bondage of the Roman prelate and his tirannicall clergie. These had by degrees so encroacht upon all the secular princes, that they were nothing but vassalls and hangmen to the proud insolent priest. Obtaining his empire by fraud, false doctrine, lies, and hipocrisie, he maintained it by blood and rapine, till it pleas'd God to cause that light to breake forth about Luther's time, which hath ever since bene encreasing, and notwithstanding all the attempts of Sathan and his ministers, will in the end grow up to a glorious flame and quite devoure that bloody city. When the wrath of princes and priests was in vaine at first blowne up against the professors of the gospell, and their blood and ashes became fruitefull seed in God's field, then the old fox comes into the fold as a lamb, and seduces some of them that saw the approach of Christ's kingdome, to sett it up irregularly, and indeed, (though I know not whether they perceiv'd their owne delusion), to sett up themselves in Christ's throne, casting downe the thrones of all other magistrates, and destroying the proprieties of men, and ruling by their owne arbitrary lust, which they brought forth in the name of God's law.[p]

---

[p] A description of the principles of the most extravagant of those whom in history they call Fifth Monarchy Men, from their affecting to set up the empire of Christ as the fifth; the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, being the first four.

This example was so threatning to all mankind, that the gospell itself, by the adversaries thereof, suffer'd much reproach upon this miscarriage; whereupon the Protestants, in all places, to cleare themselves from the iust aspersions, which the Munster anabaptists and others had occasion'd, fell into an error on the other hand, not much lesse hurtfull in the consequence; for to flatter the princes of the world, whether Popish or Protestant, they invested them with God's prerogative, and preach'd to them and the people such doctrines as only chang'd the idoll, but left the idolatry still in practice.[q]

The Popes of Rome had for many ages

---

[q] This could hardly be carried farther any where than in England: where in all cases passive, in most cases active obedience was indiscriminately inculcated; where two divines stating in their discourses, one, "that it was the king's duty to "make laws, and the subject's to obey them;" another, that "the king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm, but "that his royal will and command in imposing taxes and loans "without consent of parliament doth oblige the subject's conscience, upon pain of eternal damnation." For refusing to license the publication of the first sermon, the good Archbishop Abbot was banished and confined to a bad and unhealthy country house. For the latter, the preacher, though sentenced by the Lords to be fined and imprisoned, was by the king pardoned, and promoted to a bishoprick. After this, let it be decided whether Charles reverenced episcopacy as a divine institution, or valued it as an engine of state? and in what light he caused his subjects to view it?

challeng'd and practis'd a power to disthrone princes, to give away their realmes, to interdict whole kingdoms and provinces and devote them to slaughter, to loose subjects from all bonds and oathes of allegiance to their soveraignes, and to stirre up both princes and people to the mutuall murther of each other, which abominable courses had bene iustly cast upon them as reproach, they pretending to doe all these things for the propagation of the true worship and the advance of God's glorie. This reproach they retorted when some protestants upon the same pretence did maintaine that idolatrous princes were to be remoov'd, and such magistrates sett up as feared God, who were guardians of both tables, and bound to compell all their people to the right religion. This confusion was there among the sons of darknesse at the first appearance of gospell light.

About this time in the kingdom of Scotland, there was a wicked queene, daughter of a mother that came out of the bloody house of Guize[r], and brought up in the Popish religion, which she zealously persever'd in, as most suitable to her bloody lustful temper; she being guilty of murthers and adulteries, and hateful for them to the honestest of the people, was depos'd, imprison'd, and forc'd to flie for her life; but her sonne was receiv'd into the throne, and educated after the strictest way of the protestant religion according to Calvin's forme. Those who were chiefely active and instrumentall in the iustice executed on this wicked queene, were the reformers of religion in Scotland, which made the neighbouring idolatrous princes to feare them of the same faith. About the same time likewise, the provinces of the Netherlands united themselves in a resistance of the King of Spaine, and cast of that yoake wherewith he had most barbarously gall'd them. The King of France, persecuting his protestant subiects with much inhumane violence, forc'd them to defend themselves against his unsanctified league, and much blood was shed in those civill warrs, 'till at length those who had had so much experience of God's providence in delivering them from their cruell princes, were perswaded to make up an alliance with the enemies of God and religion, and by the treacherous foe drawne into his snares, where they were most wickedly and barbarously massacred.[s] Now, although religion were the maine ground of those bloody quarrels, yet there were, in all these countries, many disputes of civill right, which for the most part bore the face of the warrs; whereat I have only hinted in this survey of the condition of other states, and their interests in those days and since; which is something necessary to be knowne for the better understanding of our owne, with which I shall now proceed.

---

[r] Mary Queen of Scots.

---

[s] The famous massacre on St. Bartholomew's day at Paris.

The civill government of England, from the time called the Conquest, had been administer'd by a King, Lords, and Commons, in a way of Parliaments; the Parliament entrusted with the legislative, and the King with the executive power; but severall of the kings not satisfied with their bounded monarchie, made attempts to convert it into an absolute soveraignety, attempts fatall both to themselves and their people, and ever unsuccessfull; for the generous people of England, as they were the most free and obsequious subiects in the world to those princes that manag'd them with a kind and tender hand, commanding them as freemen, not as slaves, so were they the most untameable invincible people, in defence of their freedomes against all those usurping lords, that scorn'd to allow them liberty. The nobillity of the realme having at first the great ballance of the lands, and retaining some of that free honorable vertue, for which they were exalted above the vulgar, ever stood up in the people's defence and curb'd the wild ambition of the tyrants, whom they sometimes reduc'd to moderation, and sometimes depos'd for their misgovernments, till at length, the kings, eager to breake this yoake, had insensibly worne out the interest of the nobillity, by drawing them to their courts, where luxuries melted away the greate estates of some, others were destroy'd by confiscations in divers civill wars, and others otherwayes mould'red with time. While the kings were glad to see the abatement of that power, which had bene such a check to their exorbitancies, they perceiv'd not the growing of another more dangerous to them, and that when the nobillity shrunk into empty names, the throne lost its supporters, and had no more but a little puffe of wind to beare it up, when the full body of the people came rolling in upon it.[t] The interest of the people, which had bene many yeares growing, made an extraordinary progresse in the dayes of King Henry the eighth, who returning the vast revenues of the church into the body of the people, cast the ballance cleare on their side, and left them now only to expect[u] an opertunity to resume their power into their owne hands, and had not differences in religion divided them among themselves, and thereby prolong'd the last gasps of expiring monarchy, they had long since exercis'd it in a free commonwealth.

---

[t] It is wonderful that the experience of so many ages and so many other states had not been sufficient to warn the princes of the Houses of Bourbon of this fatal error! From the moment of Cardinal Richelieu's coming into power under Louis the XIIIth, to Neckar's return to power after his rustication under Louis the XVIth, the plan of lowering the power of the noblesse of France had been systematically pursued. The last stroke was given to it when this delusive and deluded minister advised that unfortunate monarch to give to the commons a double number of representatives in the States General, and to blend the noblesse with them. It was in vain that the Prince

England was not an idle spectator of the greate contest betweene the Papist and Protestant, in which all Christendome seem'd to be engag'd. During the reigne of Queene Elizabeth, the protestant interest, being her peculiar interest, that princesse became not only glorious in the defence of her own realme, but in the protection she gave to the whole protestant cause, in all the neighbouring kingdomes: wherefore, as if it had bene devolv'd upon her person, the Pope shott all his arrowes at her head, and sett on many des-

---

of Conty gave him a short note of admonition, written on the spur of the occasion upon his hat—"Sire, the moment you sign this arret your throne is overturned." He rejected the advice, and betrayed the author.

[u] Expect, a Latinism; expectare, to wait for; or Italian, aspettare id.

perate assassinations against her, which, by the good providence of God, were all frustrated, and she not only miraculously deliver'd from those wretches, but renown'd at home and abroad for successes against her rebellious subiects in England and Ireland, and for the assistance of her distressed neighbours; but above all for the mercy which it pleased God to afford her and this realme in the year 1588, when the invading Spaniard had devour'd us in his proud hopes, and by the mighty hand of God was scatter'd as a mist before the morning beames. That which kept alive the hopes of the Papists, most part of her reigne, was, the expectation of the Queene of Scots, who entring into confederacy with them lost her head for the forfeit, wherein the Duke of Norfolke suffer'd alsoe for her the losse of his. The Queene of England was very loath to execute this necessary iustice; but the true-hearted protestants of her councell, foreseeing the sad effects that might be expected, if ever she arriv'd to the crowne, urg'd it on[x], and after the death of Queene

---

[x] The signing and expediting the warrant for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots is an enigma which has employed the wits of many to solve — perhaps this may be the true solution of it; it is at least clear that it thus appeared to well-informed persons, living in times when the thing was recent, and accounts for it more naturally than the mean jealousy attributed

Elizabeth, the wiser of them much oppos'd the admission of her son: but he dissembling the resentment of his mother's death, by bribes and greater promises, manag'd a faction in the court of the declining queene, which prevail'd on her dotage to destroy the Earle of Essex, who only had courage to have kept out him they thought dangerous to lett in.[y] So subtilly brought they their purpose about, that wise councell was in vaine to a blinded and betrey'd people. The antiprelaticall party hoping that with a king bred up among the Calvinists, they should now be freed from the episcopal yoake, were greedie of entertaining him, but soone cured of their mistake, when immediately after his entry into the kingdome, himselfe being moderator at a dispute betweene both parties, the non-conformists were cast out of doores, the offensive ceremonies, insteed of being remoov'd were

---

to Queen Elizabeth, which would in fact have been a better reason for putting her to death many years sooner.

[y] In Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, it is said that the Earl of Essex was much courted by the Puritans, and in return caressed them; that a title to the crown was drawn out for him, and he began to look up to it; that he encouraged an opinion, that inferior magistrates might curb and control their sovereign; that he was outwitted and brought to the scaffold by Cecil and Raleigh, very opportunely for King James, whose entrance might have been opposed and his title questioned.

more strictly impos'd, the penalties against papists relax'd, many of them taken into favour, those families who suffer'd for his mother grac'd and restor'd as farre as the times would beare, and those who consented any way to the iustice done upon her disfavour'd. A progresse was made suitable to this beginning, the protestant interest abroad was deserted and betrey'd, the prelates at home dayly exalted in pride and pomp, and declining in vertue and godlinesse. Arminianisme[z] crept in, to the corruption of sound doctrine, till at length they had the impudence to forbid preaching of those greate and necessary truths, concerning the decrees of God; secret treaties were entertained with the court of Rome[a], and notwithstanding that hellish pouder plott, the papists lost not their creditt at court, where they now wrought no longer by open and direct wayes, but humouring the king and queene in their lusts and excesses, found the most ready way to destroy the doctrine of the gospell, was to debosh the professors. The court of this king was a nursery of lust and intemperance, he had brought in with him a company of poore Scotts, who comming into this plentiful kingdome, surfetted with riott and debaucheries, and gott all the riches of the land only to cast away. The honor, wealth, and glory of the nation, wherein Queene Elizabeth left it, were soon prodigally wasted by this thriftlesse heire, the nobility of the land utterly debas'd by setting honors to publick sale, and conferring them on persons that had neither blood nor meritt fit to weare, nor estates to beare up their titles, but were faine to invent proiects to pill[z] the people and pick their purses for the maintenance of vice and lewdnesse. The generality of the gentry of the land soone learnt the court fashion, and every great house in the country became a sty of uncleannesse. To keepe the people in their deplorable security, till vengeance overtooke them, they were entertain'd with masks, stage playes, and sorts of ruder sports. Then began murther, incest, adultery, drunkennesse, swearing, fornication, and all sort of ribaldry, to be no conceal'd but countenanc'd vices; because they held such conformity with the court example. Next to this, a greate cause of these abominations was the mixt marriages of papist and protestant famelies, which, no question, was a design of the popish party to compasse and procure, and so successefull that I have observ'd that there was not one house of ten, where such a marriage was made, but the better party was corrupted, the childrens soules were sacrific'd to devills, the worship of God was laid aside in that famely, for feare of distasting the idolater; the kindred, tenants, and neighbours, either quite turn'd from it, or cool'd in their zeale for religion. As the fire is most fervent in a frosty season, so the general apostacy from holinesse, if I may so call it, and defection to lewdnesse, stirr'd up sorrow, indignation, and feare, in all that retein'd any love of God in the land, whither ministers or people: the ministers warn'd the people of the approaching iudgements of God, which could not be expected but to follow such high provocations; God, in his mercy, sent his prophets into all corners of the land to preach repentance and cry out against the ingratitude of England, who thus requited so many rich mercies as no nation could ever boast of more; and by these a few were every where converted and established in faith and holinesse: but at court these were hated, disgrac'd, and revil'd, and in scorn had the name of Puritane[a] fix'd upon them. And now the ready way to preferment there, was to declare an opposition to the power of godlinesse, under that name; so that their pulpitts might justly be called the scorner's chair, those sermons only pleasing that flatter'd them in their vices and told the poore king that he was Solomon, that his sloth and cowardize, by which he betrey'd the cause of God and honour of the nation, was gospell meekenesse and peaceablenesse, for which they rays'd him up above the heavens, while he lay wallowing like a swine in the mire of his lust. He had a little learning, and this they call'd the

---

[z] James, however, professed himself a great enemy to it.

[a] The first volume of Clarendon's State Papers is half filled with them.

---

[z] Pill — pillage, plunder.

---

[a] This artifice of affixing a name of reproach on those of

---

an opposite party, in order indiscriminately to subject them to hatred or ridicule, could hardly be better exposed than it is here. That Mrs. Hutchinson is guilty of no exaggeration, may well be conjectured from some speeches in parliament preserv'd by Rushworth, peculiarly one of Sir Benjamin Rudyard, at least a moderate man, if not a favourer of the king, complaining of the very same thing. Rushworth, vol. ii. 1355, "It is the artifice of the favourers of the catholick and of the prelatical party to call all who are sticklers for the constitution in church or state, or would square their actions by any rule humane or divine, Puritans." In the petition and remonstrance this is stated nearly in the same manner. It was no way inconsistent with the other injustices of the French revolutionists to invent the term of Aristocrat, and mark out by it every one whom the populace or their demagogues designed to plunder or destroy; it would not be so excuseable if in this country we should suffer cant terms or nicknames to pass for reasoning or proof. For the rest, the name of Puritan should have no bad meaning.

spiritt of wisedome, and so magnified him, so falsely flatter'd him, that he could not endure the words of truth and soundnesse, but rewarded these base, wicked, unfaithfull fawners with rich preferments, attended with pomps and titles, which heav'd them up above a humane heighth: with their pride their envie swell'd against the people of God, whom they began to proiect how they might roote out of the land; and when they had once given them a name, whatever was odious or dreadful to the king that they fixt upon the Puritane, which, according to their character, was nothing but a factious hipocrite.

The king had upon his heart the dealings both of England and Scotland with his mother, and harbour'd a secret desire of revenge upon the godly in both nations, yet had not courage enough to assert his resentment like a prince, but employ'd a wicked cunning he was master of, and called king-craft, to undermine what he durst not openly oppose, the true religion: this was fenc'd with the liberty of the people, and so link'd together, that 'twas impossible to make them slaves, till they were brought to be idolaters of royalty and glorious lust, and as impossible to make them adore these gods while they continued loyall to the government of Jesus Christ. The payment of civill obedience to the king and the lawes of the land satisfied not; if any durst dispute his impositions in the worship of God, he was presently reckon'd among the seditious and disturbers of the public peace, and accordingly persecuted: if any were griev'd at the dishonour of the kingdome, or the griping of the poore, or the unjust oppressions of the subiect, by a thousand wayes, invented to maintaine the riotts of the courtiers and the swarms of needy Scots, the king had brought in to devoure like locusts the plenty of this land, he was a Puritane: if any, out of mere morallity and civill honesty, discountenanc'd the abominations of those days, he was a Puritane, however he conform'd to their superstitious worship: if any shew'd favour to any godly honest person, kept them company, reliev'd them in want, or protected them against violent or uniust oppression, he was a Puritane: if any gentleman in his country maintain'd the good lawes of the land, or stood up for any publick interest, for good order or government, he was a Puritane: in short, all that crost the viewes of the needie courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the theevish proiectors, the lewd nobillity and gentrie, whoever was zealous for God's glory or worship, could not endure blasphemous oathes, ribbald conversation, prophane scoffes, sabbath breach, derision of the word of God, and the like;

whoever could endure a sermon, modest habitt or conversation or aniething good, all these were Puritanes; and if Puritanes, then enemies to the king and his government, seditious factious hypocrites, ambitious disturbers of the publick peace, and finally, the pest of the kingdome; such false logick did the children of darknesse use to argue with against the hated children of light, whom they branded besides as an illiterate, morose, melancholly, discontented, craz'd sort of men, not fitt for humane conversation[b]; as such they made them not only the sport of the pulpitt, which was become but a more solemne sort of stage, but every stage, and every table, and every puppett-play, belcht forth prophane scoffes upon them, the drunkards made them their songs, all fiddlers and mimicks learnt to abuse them, as finding it the most gamefull way of fooling. Thus the two factions in those dayes grew up to greate heighths and enmities, one against the other, while the Papist wanted not industry and subtilty to blow the coals betweene them, and was so successeful that, unlesse the mercy of God confound them, by their owne imaginations, we may iustly feare they will at last obtane their full wish.

---

[b] Such is the idea entertained of them in general even at this day; whoever shall read these memoirs will be well convinced that not one of these qualities needs or does by any natural consequence accompany the character. It is a great misfortune that many of the zealous professors of piety should give it so austere an aspect, and this can never be better contrasted than by the cheerful and amiable one this professed Puritan gives it.

But to deale impartially, wee must, with sadnesse enough, confesse, that the wolfe came into the fold in a sheepe's clothing, and wrought more slaughter that way among the lambs, then he could have done in his owne skin; for it is true that many of witt and parts, discontented, when they could not obteine the preferments their ambition gaped at, would declare themselves of the puritane party, and such were either bought of, or, if the adversary would not give their price, seduc'd their devout hearers, sometimes into undiscreete opposition, to worke out their owne revenge, others that had neither learning, nor friends, nor opertunities to arrive to any preferrements, would put on a forme of godlinesse, finding devout people that way so liberall to them, that they could not hope to enrich themselves so much any other way. Some that had greater art and parts, finding there was no inconsiderable gaine to be made of the simple devotion of men and weomen, applied their witts to it, and collected greate summes for the advancement of their religious interest, of which they converted much to their owne private uses. Such as these tempted thè people of God to endeavour to shelter themselves in humane pollicies, and found out wayes, by bribes and other not lesse indirect courses, to procure patrones at court, and to sett up against the prelates with countermines and other engines, which being of man's framing, were all at last broken.

The puritane party being weake and oppress'd, had not faith enough to disowne all that adhered to them for worldly interests, and indeed it requir'd more then humane wisedome to discerne at the least all of them, wherefore they, in their low condition, gladly accepted any that would come over to them, or encline towards them; and their enemies through envie at them augmented much their party, while, with iniuries and reproaches, they drove many, that never intended it, to take that party; which in the end got nothing but confusion by those additions. While these parties were thus counterworking, the treasure of the kingdome being wasted by court-caterpillars, and parliaments call'd to resupply the royall coffers, therein there wanted not some, that retain'd so much of the English spirit, as to represent the public grievances, and desire to call the corrupt ministers of state to an account; but the king, grudging that his people should dare to gainesay his pleasure, and correct his misgovernement, in his favourites, broke up parliaments, violated their privilledges, imprisoned their members for things spoken in the house, and grew disaffected to them, and entertain'd proiects of supplie by other grievances of the people. The prelates in the mean time, finding they lost ground, meditated reunion with the popish faction, who began to be at a pretty agreement with them[c]; and now there was no more endeavour in their public sermons, to confute the errors of that church, but to reduce our doctrines and theirs to an accommodation: the king, to bring it about, was deluded[b] into the treaty of a match for his sonne with the Infanta of Spaine; and the prince, with the Duke of Buckingham, privately sent into Spayne, from whence he difficultly came back, but to the greate reioycing of the whole people in generall, who were much aflicted at his going thither. During this treaty the papists got many advantages of the king, to the preiudice of the protestant interest at home and abroad, and the hearts of all but the papists were very much sadned, and the people loath to lay the miscarriages of things at the king's owne dore, began to entertaine an universall hatred of the Duke of Buckingham, rays'd from a knight's fourth sonne to that pitch of glorie, and enioying greate possessions, acquir'd by the favour of the king, upon no merit but that of his beauty and his prostitution. The parliament had drawne up a charge against him, and though the king seem'd to protect him, yet knowing the fearefullnesse of his nature, and doubting his constancy, it was believ'd he added some helpe to an ague that kill'd that king; however the king died, and the Duke continued as high in the favour of the next succeeding as of the deceased prince: whereupon one, not unaptly, sayes of him, 'he seem'd as an unhappie exhalation, 'drawne up from the earth, not only to clowd 'the setting, but the rising sun.[c]

---

[c] The first volume of Clarendon's State Papers abounds with instances.

[d] It is very rare to see a delusion so long and successfully carried on as this appears to have been, at the expence of this modern Solomon, in the State Papers just mentioned.

The face of the court was much chang'd in the change of the king; for King Charles was temperate, chast, and serious; so that the fooles and bawds, mimicks and catamites, of the former court, grew out of fashion; and the nobillity and courtiers, who did not quite abandon their debosheries, had yet that re-

---

[•] The justice of the character here given of James, as well as the candour of that about to be given to Charles, will, it is hoped, be recognized be every reader.

verence to the king, to retire into corners to practise them: men of learning and ingenuity in all arts were in esteeme, and receiv'd encouragement from the king; who was a most excellent iudge and a greate lover of paintings, carvings, gravings, and many other ingenuities, less offensive than the bawdry and prophane abusive witt, which was the only exercise of the other court. But as in the primitive times, it is observ'd that the best emperors were some of them stirr'd up by Sathan to be the bitterest persecutors of the church, so this king was a worse encroacher upon the civill and spirituall liberties of his people by farre then his father. He married a papist, a French lady, of a haughty spiritt, and a greate witt and beauty, to whom he became a most uxorious husband. By this meanes the court was replenisht with papists, and many who hoped to advance themselves by the change, turned to that religion; all the papists in the kingdom were favour'd, and by the king's example, matcht into the best famelies; the puritanes more than ever discountenanc'd and persecuted, insomuch that many of them chose to abandon their native country, and leave their dearest relations, to retire into any foreigne soyle or plantation, where they might, amidst all outward inconveniences, enioy the free exercise of God's worship? such as could not flee were tormented in the bishops courts, fin'd, whipt, pillor'd, imprison'd, and suffer'd to enioy no rest, so that death was better than life to them; and notwithstanding their patient suff'rance of all these things, yet was not the king satisfied till the whole land were reduc'd to perfect slavery. The example of the French king was propounded to him, and he thought himselfe no monarch, so long as his will was confin'd to the bounds of any law; but knowing that the people of England were not pliable to an arbitrary rule, he plotted to subdue them to his yoke by a foreigne force, and till he could effect it, made no conscience of granting aniething to the people, which he resolv'd should not obliege him longer then it serv'd his turne; for he was a prince that had nothing of faith or truth, iustice or generosity, in him; he was the most obstinate person in his selfewill that ever was, and so bent upon being an absolute uncontroulable soveraigne, that he was resolv'd either to be such a king or none. His firme adherence to prelacy was not for conscience of one religion more then another, for it was his principle that an honest man might be sav'd in any profession; but he had a mistaken principle that kingly government in the state could not stand without episcopall government in the church, and therefore as the bishops flatter'd him with preaching up his soveraigne prerogative, and inveying against the puritanes as factious and disloyall, so he protected them in their pomp and pride, and insolent practises against all the godly and sober people of the land.[f] In the first parliament after he came to the crowne the duke of Buckingham was impeacht concerning the death of king James, and other misdemeanors, but the present king, who had receiv'd him into the same degree of favour that he was with the former, would not endure the question of his favourite, and, to deliver him from it, broke up the parliament, which gave too iust a suspition that he favour'd the practise; for it is true that the duke's mother, without the consent of the phisitians, had made an application to the wrists of the king for his ague, after which he died in his next fitt. Some other parliaments there were, but still abruptly broken up, when they putt forth any endeavour to redresse grievances. The protestants abroad were all lookt upon as puritanes, and their interest insteed of being protected, sadly betrey'd; ships lett out to the French king to serve against them; all the flower of the English gentry lost in an ill-manag'd expedition to the Isle of Rhee, under pretence of helping them, but so order'd that it proov'd the losse of Rochell, the strong fort and best defence of all the protestants in France. Those in Germany were no lesse neglected in all treaties, although his owne sister and her children were so highly concern'd. The whole people were sadly griev'd att these misgovernments, and loath to impute them to the king, cast all the odium upon the duke of Buckingham, whom at length a discontented person stabb'd, believing he did God and his country good service by it. All the kingdome, except the duke's owne dependents and kindred, reioyc'd in the death of this duke, but they founde little cause, for after it the king still persisted in his designe of enslaving them, and found other ministers, ready to serve his selfe-will'd ambition, such as were Noy his attorney-generall, who sett on foote that hatefull tax of ship mony, and many more illegall exactions; and ten of the iudges who perverted iudgement in the cause of those who refus'd the illegall imposition; although there were even in that time found two honest iudges, who durst iudge rightly against the king, although he had chang'd the words usuall in their commissions, which were Quamdiu bene se gesserint,[g] into another forme, Durante bene placito. Besides these, and a greate rascally company of flatterers and proiectors, there were all the corrupted tott'ring bishops and others of the proud prophane clergy of the land, who, by their insolencies, growne odious to the people, bent their strong endeavours to disaffect the prince to his honest godly subiects, and to gett a pretence of power from him, to aflict those who would not submitt to their insolent dominion. But there were two above all the rest, who led the van of the king's evill councellors, and these were Laud, archbishop of Canter-

---

[f] In note q, page 109, it has been shewn that their political, not their religious principles, were the criterion whereby the king judged the prelates of the church of England. That the same served for the church of Rome is shewn pretty clearly in the first volume of Clarendon's State Papers: where Mr. Courtenay having refused some compliances against conscience, and giving as his reason that "the king was not the "law maker, but the king and parliament, and that the king "has not a dispensing power," and father Scudamore, alias Leander, asserting that he has, Courtenay is committed to prison, held there, and a trial refused him ; Leander protected, encouraged, and rewarded ; and it is stated that "Laud was "at the helm of the king's councils in these matters." This opinion of the king's candour, or even indifference, as to the mode of religion, is stated in nearly the same manner in Rushworth, but it is not said on what authority. The Stuarts sported with and ruined all religions, and in turn were ruined by them.

---

[g] "Quamdiù bene se gesserint," during good behaviour, as long as they act right. "Durante bene placito," during the king's good pleasure.

ACADEMIA * OXONIENSIS
VERA EFFIGIES R: P: GVILIELMVS LAVD EPISCOPI CANTERBVRIENSES. &ct. *

WILLIAM LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBVRY :
his grace primate of all England and Metropolatan
and Chancelor of the Vniuerſity of: Oxford. &c.

bury, a fellow of meane extraction and arrogant pride, and the earl of Strafford, who as much outstript all the rest in favour as he did in abillities, being a man of deepe pollicy, sterne resolution, and ambitious zeale to keepe up the glory of his own greatnesse. In the beginning of this king's reign, this man had bene a strong assertor of the liberties of the people, among whom he had gain'd himselfe an honorable reputation, and was dreadfull to the court party, who thereupon strew'd snares in his way, and when they found a breach at his ambition, his soule was that way enter'd and captivated. He was advanc'd first to be lord president of the councell in the north, to be a baron, after an earle, then deputy of Ireland; the neerest to a favourite of any man since the death of the duke of Buckingham, who was rays'd by his first master, and kept up by the second, upon no account of personall worth or any deserving abillities in him, but only upon violent and private inclinations of the princes; but the earle of Strafford wanted not any accomplishment that could be desir'd in the most serviceable minister of state: besides he having made himselfe odious to the people, by his revolt from their interest to that of the oppressive court, he was now obliged to keepe up his owne interest with his new party, by all the mallitious practices that pride and revenge could inspire him with.[h] But above all these the king had another instigator of his owne violent purpose, more powerfull then all the rest, and that was the queene, who, growne out of her childhood, began to turn her mind from those vaine extravagancies she liv'd in at first, to that which did lesse become her, and was more fatall to the kingdome, which never is in any place happie, where the hands which were made only for distaffes affect the management of sceptres.—If any one obiect the fresh example of Queen Elizabeth, let them remember that the felicity of her reigne was the effect of her submission to her masculine and wise councellors; but wherever male princes are so effeminate as to suffer weomen of foreigne birth and different religions to entermeddle with the affairs of state, it is alwayes found to produce sad desolations; and it hath bene observ'd that a French queene never brought any happinesse to England: some kind of fatality too the English imagin'd to be in her name of Marie, which, 'tis said, the king rather chose to have her call'd by then her other, Henrietta, because the land should find a blessing in that name, which had bene more unfortunate; but it was not in his power, though a greate prince, to controule destiny. This lady being by her priests affected with the meritoriousnesse of advancing her owne religion, whose principle it is to subvert all other, applied that way her greate witt and parts, and the power her haughty spiritt kept over her husband, who was enslav'd in his affection only to her, though she had no more passion for him then what serv'd to promote her designes. Those brought her into a very good correspondency with the archbishop and his prelaticall crew, both ioyning in the cruell designe of rooting the godly out of the land. The foolish protestants were meditating reconcilliations with the church of Rome, who embrac'd them as far as they would goe, carrying them in hand, as if there had bene a possibility of bringing such a thing to passe: meanewhile they carried on their designe by them, and had so ripened it, that nothing but the mercy of God prevented the utter subversion of protestantisme in the three kingdomes.—But how much soever their designes were fram'd in the darke, God reveal'd them to his servants, and most miraculously order'd providences for their preservation. About the yeare 1639 the Scots, having the English service booke obtruded upon them violently, refus'd it, and tooke a nationall covenant against it, and enter'd England with a greate armie, to bring their complaints to the king, which his unfaithfull ministers did much, as they suppos'd, misreport. The king himselfe leavied an army against them, wherein he was assisted by the nobility and gentry, but most of all by the prelates, insomuch that the warre got the name of bellum episcopale;[i] but the commonalty of the nation, being themselves under grievous bondage, were loath to oppose a people that came only to claime their iust liberties. When the king was at Yorke, the chiefe of the Scotch covenanters came, under a pretence of treating with the king, but their chiefe intent was to disabuse[k] the nobillity of England, and to take of their edge against them by remonstrating those grievances and oppressions from the prelaticall innovators, which had forc'd them thus to defend their religion and liberties. This they did so effectually, that the hearts of the English were much mooved towards them, and the king perceiving it, by their mediations, consented to a dissembled peace for that time, and return'd home. But the Scots unsatisfied in the performance of their articles, made preparation for a second returne into England; whereupon the king in his anger and necessity, was forc'd to have recourse to the long neglected remedie of parliaments, and assembled one at Westminster the 13th of April 1640, which he suffer'd to sitt but 21 dayes, and broke it up againe, apprehending that if he had suffer'd them to sitt a day longer, they would have voted against the war with Scotland, which he was violently bent to prosecute.

---

[h] Called by Lord Digby the grand apostate of the commonwealth.

---

[i] The bishops' war.

Disabuse, from the French *desabuser*, to undeceive.

The bishops at that time devised as an anti-covenant, in their convocation house, that execrable oath knowne by the name of the *etcætera,* wherein all ministers were required to sweare to uphold the government of the church of England by archbishops, deanes, archdeacons, *&c.* After this the Scots enter England, the king makes a second expedition into the north against them, and sends part of his armie to keepe the passes upon the river Tine: but the souldiers being raw and heartlesse to this warre, and the commanders themselves unexperienc'd, they were vanquisht, and the Scotts forc'd their way, after they had bene refus'd to passe quietly by, with their petitions in their hands, and thus possess'd themselves of Newcastle and Durham. At that time the Scotts had put forth a declaration, wherein they had affirm'd their intentions not to lay downe arms till the reform'd religion were settled in both nations upon sure grounds, and the causers of these present troubles brought to publick iustice, and that in a parliament. This was so plausible to the English, that the king, finding both the hearts and hands of his people faile him in this occasion, was induc'd to grant the petition of twelve noble lords, who at that time interpos'd, and calling together all his lords at Yorke, agreed upon a parliament at London, to convene the third of November following. In the meane time there was a treaty condiscended to of sixteene lords of each side Scotch and English, who agreed upon a cessation betweene both armies for the presentt, in order to a peace, to be concluded at London with the parliament who mett as appoynted in November.

They began with throwing downe monopolies, and then impeacht the earle of Strafford of high treason, who, after a solemne triall and hot disputes on both sides, was at length attainted of treason, and the king, against his owne mind, to serve his ends, gave him up to death.[k] The archbishop of Canterbury was alsoe made prisoner upon an accusation of high treason, for which he after suffer'd[1]; Wren bishop of Norwich was likewise committed to the Tower; severall other prelaticall preachers were question'd for popish and treasonable doctrines; the starre chamber, an uniust and arbitrary court, was taken away,

---

[k] Whoever has read the propositions delivered to his majesty by the earl of Strafford, for bridling of parliaments and increase of his revenue, which is preserved in the third volume of Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 322, ingenious, bold, and dangerous beyond example, will think him richly to have deserved his fate, but not at the hand of Charles, who herein acted so treacherously by his friends, that their very adversaries are

---

shocked at it, and fixed on his reputation a deep and indelible stain; accordingly he seems all his life long to have borne in mind an incessant regret of this crime. As it was a thing thought of but little consequence at the time, perhaps it will ere long be forgotten that Louis the Sixteenth suffered sentence of death to be executed on a Mr. De Favras for planning to assist him, or his brother, or both, to escape, but when he did really effect his escape in part, there appeared great earnestness and zeal in stopping him! Did he not merit this?

May says that the cause of Lord Strafford's condemnation was a note produced by Sir H. Vane, proving that as a privy counsellor he had proposed to the king to bring his army from Ireland to reduce this kingdom to obedience; but Ludlow's seems the stronger reason.

[1] It may well be doubted whether it was justifiable to change the proceedings against Laud from impeachment to attainder, in order to vote his death, which the law would not have condemned him to; but certainly deposition and banishment at least were due to the man who brought ruin and disgrace upon that pure and moderate system of religion of which he was the unworthy head: that to his conduct its ruin was principally attributable may be clearly seen by the speeches preserved by Rushworth, in his fourth volume, of Lord Digby, Falkland, Fiennes, and especially Grimston. At this day there is perhaps hardly to be found a son of the church who would condescend to meddle in such base projects as this archbishop assiduously employed himself in.

and the high-commision court; an act was procur'd for a trienniall parliament, and another for the continuation of this, that it should not be broken up without their owne consents. There were greate necessities for mony by reason of the two armies that were then maintain'd in England, and the people would give the king no mony without some ease of grievances, which forc'd him against his inclination to grant those bills, which, after he had granted, he found he had bound up his owne[m] hands, and therefore privately encourag'd plotts that were in those times contriv'd against the parliament. One of them was to have rescued the earle of Strafford out of prison, and put him in the head of eight thousand Irish, which the king would not consent to disband, when the parliament had some time before moov'd him to it; then the English armie in the north should have bene brought up and engag'd against the parliament itselfe upon a pretence of maintaining the king's prerogative, episcopacy, and some other such things. This plott was manag'd by Percy, Germyn, Goring, Wilmot, Ashburnham, Pollard, Suckling, O'Neale, and others, of whom some confess'd and impeach'd their fellows, others fled, others were put in prison. While this parliament was sitting, the king would needs, contrary to their desires, take a iourney to Scotland, and past by the two disbanding armies in his iourney, where some report that he secretly attempted to urge the Scotch armie against the parliament, which then succeeded not. The houses had reiourned for some time, and left a standing committee of fifty to prepare businesses. About that time a plott was discover'd to them from Scotland, against the lives of some of the greatest peeres of that kingdome; the committee, fearing the like attempts from the same spring, placed strong guards in divers parts of the citie of London. The king's designe in going to Scotland was variously coniectur'd, but this was a certeine effect of it, that it retarded all the affaires of the government of England, which the king had put into such disorder that it was not an easie taske to reforme what was amisse, and redresse the reall grievances of the people; but yet the parliament shew'd such a wonderfull respect to the king, that they never mention'd him, as he was, the sole author of all those miscarriages, but imputed them to evill councellors, and gave him all the submissive language that could have bene us'd to a good prince, fixing all the guilt upon his evill councellors and ministers of state, which flattery I feare they have to answer for: I am sure they have thereby expos'd themselves to much scandall.[n] While the king was in Scotland, that cursed rebellion in Ireland broke out, wherein above 200,000 were massacred in two months space, being surpriz'd, and many of them most inhumanely butcher'd and tormented; and besides the slaine, abundance of poore famelies stript and sent naked away, out of all their possessions; and, had not the providence of God miraculously prevented the surprize of Dublin castle, the night it should have bene seiz'd there had not bene any remnant of the protestant name left in that country. As soone as this sad newes came to the parliament, they vigorously set themselves to the worke of relieving them, but then the king return'd from Scotland, and being sumptuously welcomed home by the citie, tooke courage thereby against the parliament, and obstructed all their proceedings for the effectuall reliefe of Irelande. Long was he before he could be drawne to proclaime these murtherers rebells, and when he did, by speciall command, there were but 40 proclamations printed, and care taken that they should not be much dispers'd; which courses aflicted all the good protestants in England, and confirm'd that the rebellion in Ireland receiv'd countenance from the king and queene of England.° The parliament, besett with so many difficulties, were forc'd for their owne vindication to present the king with a petition and a remonstrance of the

---

[m] This act for perpetuating the parliament was in fact that which gave them a clear ascendency over the king. The proposing this, as it shewed the ingenuity and judgment of Mr. Pierrepont, to whom Mrs. Hutchinson attributes it, so does it the weakness of the king and his counsellors, who having granted this, had no longer any power of refusal left.—For extraordinary evils extraordinary remedies are often sought; but this, as it soon proved too strong for the king, so was it at last thought too strong for the people. The omnipotence of parliament would be indeed dreadful alike to both if, instead of being amovible, it was permanent.

---

[n] This is an oversight of Mrs. Hutchinson's, of which she is seldom guilty. Good policy required then, as it does now, that the king should be held incapable of wrong, and the criminality fixed on ministers, who are amenable to the law. If the patriots of that day were the inventors of this maxim, we are highly obliged to them.

° It would be difficult to draw a distinction so nice as would discriminate between the countenance shewn to the rebels both before and after the rebellion breaking out, and the encouraging the rebellion itself: now that passion and prejudice have subsided there are probably many more that condemn than acquit the king and queen; but whilst the blood of the massacred protestants yet reeked, and indignation glowed, it was neither to be wondered at nor blamed that persons the most tolerant, as the independants professed to be, and Mrs. Hutchinson especially, should speak with enmity of the queen and the catholics, and attribute to them those principles of intolerance and antipathy to protestants which, whether they professed or not, they practised. It will hereafter be seen that, when they ceased to be dangerous, Mr. Hutchinson did not persecute, but protect them.

state of the kingdome, wherein they spared him as much as truth would beare, and complained only of his ill counsellors and ministers; but this, instead of admonishing, exasperated him, and was answer'd with another declaration of his, and upon severall occasions, the parliament being enforc'd to iustifie their proceedings publickly, and the king setting forth replies, these open debates were but the prologue to the ensuing tragedie. The citie declaring their good affections to the parliament by a petition, gave the king distrust, and he was observ'd to entertaine an extraordinary guard of cavaliers, who killed and wounded some of the poore unarm'd men that pass'd by his house at Whitehall, and the parliament conceiving themselves not safe, desir'd a guard might be allow'd them under the command of the Earle of Essex; but he refus'd it, with an asurance that he would command such a guard to waite upon them as he would be responsible to Almighty God for, and that the safety of all and every one of them was as deare to him as that of his owne person and children. Yet the very next day after this false message he came to the house of commons, attended with his extraordinary guard, of about four hundred gentlemen and souldiers, arm'd with swords and pistolls, and there demanded five of their members, whom not finding there (for a greate lady at court had before inform'd one of them of his coming, and the house ordered them to retire) he return'd, leaving the house under a high sense of this breach of their priviledge.[p] At this time the people began in greate numbers to bring petitions to the king and parliament, to beg a more chearefull concurrence betweene them for the reliefe of Ireland, and to encourage the parliament in their honorable endeavours for the reliefe of both kingdomes. The king was offended at this, and retir'd first to Hampton-court, then went with the queene to Canterbury, whom he sent from thence into Holland with her daughter, lately married to the prince of Orange, under pretence of conducting her to her owne court, but really to manage his businesse abroad, and procure arms to be employ'd against the parliament, by the sale of the crowne iewells, which she carried over with her. After her departure the king, taking the prince and the duke of Yorke with him, went to Theobalds, whither the parliament sent a petition to him to returne to his parliament and abide neere London, and that he would not carry the prince away with him, and that he would grant the millitia of the kingdome to be put into such hands as the parliament should recommend, and might confide in; all which he denied, and went immediately to New-market, and from thence to Yorke; all this while, by many false pretences, really obstructing the reliefe of bleeding Ireland, and seducing many of the poore people of England into blood and ruin.

---

[p] The force of opinion being the only real force of any prince, and the notion of inviolability his best protection, it was a strange infatuation in him to overthrow them both.

> Turno tempus erit magno cùm optaverit emptum
> Intactum Pallanta, et cùm spolia illa, diemque
> Oderit. VIRG. ÆN. 10.
>
> *The time shall come when Turnus, but in vain,*
> *Shall wish untouch'd the trophies of the slain,*
> *And curse the dire remembrance of that day.* DRYDEN.

An English gentleman, who was resident in France at the time that Louis the Sixteenth sent his guards to the parliament of Paris to seize some of the members (one of whom was the famous Duval Despresmenil), and sent out decrees and manifestoes, as has been here just before related, made this remark, ' He has entered upon the career of Charles the First, and he will follow it to the end.' *Il est entré dans la carriere de Charles I, et il la suivra jusqu'au bout.* When he saw again in England, as emigrants, the same French gentlemen before whom he had made this remark, they reminded him of it; saying how little probable this had seemed to them at the period of its being spoken, a year before the holding of the states general!

In conducting the state of England, in those dayes, wherein he, whose actions I am tracing, began to enter into his part, in this greate tragedy, I have bene too long for that I intended, and too short to give a cleare understanding of the righteousnesse of the parliament's cause[q]; which I shall desire you to informe yourselves better of by their owne printed papers, and Mr. Maye's history, which I find to be impartially true, so farre as he hath carried it on, saving some little mistakes in his owne iudgment, and misinformations which some vaine people gave of the state, and more indulgence to the king's guilt then can iustly be allow'd.

To take up my discourse of Mr. Hutchinson where I left it, he was now come to his owne house at Owthorpe, about the time when the Irish massacre was acted, and finding humors begin to be very stirring, he applied himselfe to understand the things then in dispute, and read all the publick papers that came forth, betweene the king and parliament, besides many other private treatises, both concerning the present and foregoing times. Hereby he became abundantly inform'd in his understanding, and convinc'd in conscience, of the righteousnesse of the parliament's cause, in poynt of civill right; and though he was satisfied of the endeavours to reduce[r] poperie and subvert the true protestant religion, which indeed was apparent to every one that impartially considered it, yet he did not thinke that so cleare a ground of the warre, as the defence of the iust English liberties[s]; and although he was clearly sway'd by his owne iudgement and reason to the parliament, he thinking he had no warrantable call, at that time, to do aniething more, contented himselfe with praying for peace. At that time Mr. Henry Ireton was in the country, and being a kinsman of Mr. Hutchinson's and one that had receiv'd so much advantage to himselfe and his famely in the country by Sr. Thomas Hutchinson's countenance and protection, that he seem'd a kind of dependant upon him, being besides a very grave, serious, religious, person; there was a greate league of kindnesse and good will betweene them.[t] Mr. Ireton being very

---

[q] Probably few people will think Mrs. Hutchinson has been too prolix, many will that she has been too concise. Mr. May's history comes down only to September, 1643, which is much to be regretted, as he may justly be called an impartial and clear historian, but is little read, probably because his history finishes before that period which was the most interesting.

---

[r] Reduce, Latin *reducere*, to bring back, restore, revive.

[s] This observation clearly shows that Mr. Hutchinson did not suffer his zeal for religion to run into fanaticism, so as to mislead his judgment in political matters, and is in unison with a sentiment which appears in May's history, who, in pages 115, 116, and 117, shews by various facts and arguments, "that "laws and liberties having been so much violated by the king, "if the parliament had not so far drawn religion also into "their cause, it might have sped better; that by doing it they "frequently weakened their reasoning, and assuredly lost a "more considerable party of gentlemen than they gained."

Had he continued his history to the end he would probably have remarked that by thus forcing religion into their service, and making as it were a tool of it, they found it had two edges, and, as it well might, proved rather more destructive to them than their adversaries, as it served to disunite the parliament, to whose very existence union was necessary.

---

[t] As it will be seen in the sequel that Mr. Hutchinson reposed a very great confidence in Ireton, and even allowed to the information he received from him such weight in forming his judgment as he did to that of no one else, it may be well to examine how far the one was deserving, and the other discerning, in this.

The question will be probably decided to general satisfaction upon the testimony of Whitelock and Ludlow, men of very different dispositions, but both of great good sense and knowledge of their subject. Whitelock, in speaking of some reforms proposed in the election and composition of the house of commons, says, "Ireton was chiefly employed in them, "having learned some grounds of law, and having a laborious "and working brain and fancy." When he comes to speak of the reforms of the law which Ireton likewise meditated he says, "he was a man full of invention and industry, who had "a little knowledge of the law, which led him into the more "errors." But when by his death the jealousy lest he should bring about those reforms which Whitelock, and most of the lawyers, were averse to, had ceased, he says of him, page 516, "this gentleman was a person very active, industrious, and "stiff in his ways and purposes; he was of good abilities for "council as well as action, made much use of his pen, and "was very forward to reform the proceedings in law, wherein "his having been bred a lawyer was a great help to him. He "was stout in the field, and wary and prudent in councils; "exceedingly forward as to the business of a commonwealth. "Cromwell had a great opinion of him, and no man could active in promoting the parliament, and the godly interest in the country, found greate opposition by some proiectors and others of corrupt interest that were in commission of the peace, whereupon making complaint at the parliament, he procur'd some of them to be put out of the commission, and others, better affected, to be put into their roomes, of which Mr. Hutchinson was one; but he then forbore to take his oath, as not willing to lanch out rashly into publick employments, while such a storme hung threat'ning over head; yet his good affections to godlinesse and the interest of his country, being a glory that could not be conceal'd, many of his honest neighbours made applications to him, and endeavoured to gaine his conduct, which he at first in modesty and prudence would not

---

" prevail so much, nor order him so far, as Ireton could." But Ludlow, who viewed him more constantly and closely in a post of great power and temptation, that of deputy of Ireland, being himself next in command to him, gives the following account of his conduct in one instance, which will render all others superfluous. " The parliament also ordered an act to be " brought in for settling two thousand per annum on the lord-" deputy Ireton, the news of which being brought over was so " unacceptable to him, that he said, they had many just debts, " which he desired they would pay before they made any " such presents; that he had no need of their land, and would " not have it; and that he should be more contented to see " them doing the service of the nation, than so liberal in dis-" posing of the public treasure."

too hastily rush into.[u] The parliament had made orders to deface the images in all churches: within two miles of his house there was a church, where Christ upon the crosse, the virgin, and John, had bene fairly sett up in a windore over the altar, and sundry other superstitious paintings, of the priest's owne ordering, were drawne upon the walls. When the order for razing out those reliques of superstition came, the priest only tooke downe the heads of the images, and laid them carefully up in his closett, and would have had the church officers to have certified that the thing was done according to order; whereupon they came to Mr. Hutchinson, and desir'd him that he would take the paynes to come and view their church, which he did, and upon discourse with the parson, persuade him to blott out all the superstitious payntings, and breake the images in the glasse; which he consented to, but being ill-affected, was one of those who began to brand Mr. Hutchinson with the name of Puritane.

At that time most of the gentry of the country were disaffected to the parliament, most of the middle sort, the able substantiall freeholders, and the other commons, who had not their dependance upon the malignant nobillity and gentry, adher'd to the parliament. These, when the king was at Yorke, made a petition to him, to returne to the parliament, which upon their earnest entreaty Mr. Hutchinson] went, with some others, and presented at Yorke[x], where meeting his cousins the Birons, they were extremely troubled to see him there, on that account. After his returne, Sr. John Biron being likewise come to his house at Newsted, Mr. Hutchinson went to visit him there, and not finding him, return'd to Nottingham, five miles short of his owne house. There, going to the mayor to hear some newes, he mett with such as he expected not, for as soone as he came in, the mayor's wife told him, that the sheriffe of the county was come to fetch away the magazine that belong'd to the trained bands of the county, which was left in her husband's trust, and that her husband had sent for the country to acquaint them, but she fear'd it would be gone before they could come in, whereupon Mr. Hutchinson, taking his brother from his lodgings allong with him, presently went to the towneshall, and going up to my Lord Newark[v], lord lieftenant

---

[u] Mr Hutchinson being born in the latter end of the year 1616, was only about three-and-twenty years old at this period; when some may think this modesty became him. It was not the fashion of those times to arrive at the perfection of wisdom and judgment so early as in our days!

---

[x] Persons of the description which now bears the name of Yeomanry, seem to have been passed over by Charles and his advisers as of little consequence, and perhaps this was the real ground of the grand error they were in of supposing they had all or most of the strength of the nation with them, because they had most of the nobility and richer gentry; whereas it was found, when a general movement took place, that the great bulk of the people was against them, and like an overwhelming tide, bore down all before it. Yet he and they had abundant warnings by this and such like petitions, and by associations which began very early to be entered into; or still earlier in the expedition against the Scots, wherein the averseness of the common soldiers to the war was so evident, that it compelled the patching up a peace. "And, astonishing as "it might be, (says May, p. 64), it was seen that the com-"mon people were sensible of public interest and religion, "when lords and gentlemen seemed not to be." It is true that the mass of the people, having little time for contemplation, are content to let those to whom affluence gives leisure think for them; but when they do think for themselves and strongly adopt a sentiment, he is a bold man, and ought to have astonishing resources who contravenes it. That will be generally, if not always, found the wiser government which informs itself well as to the real bent of the public mind: and,

---

if it is misled by a faction, takes the way of candour and frankness to dispel the mist of error or prejudice, but avoids to do violence to the general opinion. The Editor of this work is proud of being the first person who, two years before its adoption, suggested an appeal to the sense and spirit of the nation by the association of armed volunteers.

[v] Eldest son of the Earl of Kingston, and brother of two Mr. Pierreponts mentioned in this work; this nobleman was afterwards created Marquis of Dorchester, and will be spoken of under that title in the sequel. — In the Diary mentioned in the second page of the Preface the Dialogue between Lord

told him, that hearing some dispute concerning the countries pouder, he was come

---

Newark and Mr Hutchinson, is set down at full length, and as it may be an object of curiosity to some of our readers it is here inserted in a smaller type.

Mr. Hutchinson asking who were above, he was told that the lord lieftenant, my Lord Newark, was there, to whom he sent his name and desired to speake with him; and being come up, found in the roome, where the pouder was weighing, my Lord Newark, the sheriffe Sir John Digbie, and two or three captaines: Mr. Hutchinson, addressing himself to my lord only, spoke to him —

H. My Lord, hearing that there was some question, concerning the county's powder, I am come to kisse your lordship's hands, and to beseech you that I may know what your desires and intents are concerning it?

N. Cousin, the king desires to borrow it of the country to supply his greate necessities.

H. I beseech your lordship, what commission have you to demand this?

N. Upon my honor, I have a commission from his maiestie, but it is left behind me: but I will engage my honor it shall be repaid the country.

H. Your lordship's honor is an engagement, would be accepted for more than I am worth; but in such an occasion as this, the greatest man's engagement in the kingdome cannot be a satisfaction to the country.

N. The king's intents are only to borrow it, and if the country will not lend it, he will pay for it.

H. My lord, 'tis not the vallue of the pouder we endeavour to preserve, but in times of danger, as these are, those things which serve for our defence, are not valluable at any price, should you give us as many barrells of gold as you take barrells of pouder.

to waite on his Lordship, to know his desires and intents concerning it. My Lord

---

N. Upon my faith and honor, cousin, it shall be restored in ten dayes.

H. My Lord, such is the danger of the times, that for aught we know, we may in lesse than foure days be ruined for want of it; and I beseech your lordship to consider, how sad a thing it is, in these times of warre, to leave a poore country and the people in it, naked and open to the iniury of every passenger; for if you take our pouder, you may as well take our armes, without which we are unable to make use of them, and I hope your lordship will not disarme the country.

N. Why who should the country feare? I am their lord lieftenant and engag'd with my life and honor to defend them! what danger are they in?

H. Danger, yes, my lord, greate danger; there is a troope of horse now in the towne, and it hath often hap'ned so that that they have committed greate outrages and insolencies, calling divers honest men puritanes and rogues, with divers other provoking terms and carriages; I myself was abused by some of them, as I passed on the roade: I chanced to meete some of these gentlemen, who, assoone as I was past, enquired my name, and being told it, gave me another, saying among themselves, that I was a puritane and a traitor; as two or three honest men that came behind told me. Besides your lordship may be farre of, and we ruin'd before you can come to us, being unarm'd and not able to defend ourselves from any body, and this country being a roade through which, under the name of souldiers, rude people dayly passe from the north to south and terrifie the country; which if they knew to be naked and unarmed, they would thereby be encouraged to greater insolencies and mischiefes.

N. The king's occasions are such and so urgent as I cannot dispence with it for any reasons, but must needs have it.

answer'd him, that the king, having greate necessities, desir'd to borrow it of the coun-

---

H. I hope your lordship will not denie that the country hath a right, interest, and propertie in it.

N. I do not denie it.

H. Then my lord, I hope his maiestie will not command it from them.

N. No, he doth but desire to borrow it.

H. Then, I hope, if he doe but desire to borrow it, his maiestie hath signified his request to those that have interest in it, under his hand.

N. Upon my honor he hath, but I left it behind me.

H. I beseeche your lordship then, that you would not take it away, till you have acquainted the country with it, who only have power to lend it; and if your lordship be pleased to doe this, I will engage myselfe that by to-morrow at twelve of the clock, that part of the country who have interest in the pouder, shall all waite on your lordship and give you their resolutions.

N. The king's occasions cannot admit of that delay.

H. I beseech of your lordship, yet be pleas'd to consider the dangerous consequence of taking it without the countries consent, and be pleased but to stay 'till they can come in.

N. That time is more than his maiesties necessities can dispence withall.

With that Mr. Hutchinson went downe staires, where by that time a good company of the country were gathered together, to whom Mr. Hutchinson told what my lord had say'd to him, and they desired him that he would but stand to them, and they would part with every drop of blood out of their bodies before he should have it; and say'd besides, that they would go up and breake my lord's neck and the sheriff's out of the windores; but Mr. Hutchinson desired them to stay below, till he had once more spoken to my lord, and then, try. Mr. Hutchinson ask'd my lord what commission he had from his majestie. My lord

---

taking only one or two more with him, went up and spoke to my lord.

H. My Lord, I am againe, at the request of the countrie, that are below, come to your lordship, and doe once more humbly beseeche you to consider the businessse you are about, before you proceed further in it, for it may proove of dangerous consequence if you go on.

N. Cousin, I am confident it cannot, for the countrie will not denie this to the king.

H. It's very probable they will not, if your lordship please to have patience, till they can be call'd in, that they may be acquainted with his maiesties desires.

N. His maiesty is very well assured of the willingnesse and cheerfulnesse of the greater part of the country to it.

H. My Lord, I doe not know what assurance his maiesty hath of it, but if you please to look out of this window, (pointing to the countrymen below in the streets), you will see no inconsiderable number gathered, who I feare will not be willing to part with it.

N. Those are but some few factious men, not to be considered.—

H. My lord, we have bene happy yet, in these unhappy differences, to have had no blood shed, and I am confident your lordship is so noble and tender of your country, that it would very much trouble you, to have a hand in the first man's blood that should be spent in this quarrel.

N. Cousin, it cannot come to that, feare it not, (this was spoken very slightly and contemptuously,) his maiesties occasions are urgent and must be serv'd.—

(With that, the country came very fast up, which when the cavalier captaines saw, they slunk downe.)

H. Why then, my lord, I must plainely tell you, not one told him he had one, but he had left it behind. Mr. Hutchinson replied, that my lord's

---

here but will loose every drop of blood in his body before he will part with one corne of it, without your lordship can shew either a command or a request for it under his maiesties hand and seale, or that the countrie be call'd together to give their free consent to it, for we have all propertie and interest in it being members of this county, and it being bought with our money, for the particular defence and safetie of the same.

My lord desired to borrow part of it, but that being denied, he turned to Sr. John Digbie and took him to the window, where, after he had whispered with him a while, Sr. John Digbie laid downe his pen, inke, and paper, with which he had been taking an account of the pouder, match, and bullet. The countrymen desired my lord aloud, that he would not take away their pouder, out of the country; upon which, turning to them he thus spoke—

" Gentlemen, his maiesty was assured by some of the cheerfullnesse of this country's affections to him, which I am very sorry to see so much failing in, and that the countrie should come so much short of this towne, which hath cheerfully lent his maiestie one barrell of pouder, but it seems he can have none from you; I pray God you doe not repent this carriage of yours towards his maiestie, which he must be acquainted withall."

A countryman, standing forth, asked his lordship this question, " Whether, if he were to take a iourney into a place where probably he might be set upon by thieves and robbers, and having a charge about him, if any friend should aske him to lend his sword, he would part with it and goe himself without?" My lord, the case is ours, our wives, children, and estates, all depend upon this countries safetie; and how can it be safe in these dangerous times; when soe many troopes and companies passe through and commit outrages and abuses affirmation was satisfactory to him, but the country would not be willing to part with their

---

among us, if we have not armes and pouder wherewith to defend us?

My Lord made no replie, but bade the men whom he had employ'd to weigh up the pouder desist; and soe went downe the staires. Mr. Hutchinson follow'd him, and as he went, an auncient gentleman, who was with my lord, whose face and name were both unknowne to him, came to him and sayd these words:—"Stand to it, I'll warrand you, gentlemen, it is well done." And as they pass'd through a low roome, my lord tooke Mr. Hutchinson aside, and sayd.

N. Cousin, I must acquaint the king with this!

H. My Lord, it's very likely you must, being employ'd upon his maiesties service, give him an account.

N. Nay cousin, (smiling), I meane not soe, but I must acquaint him, and I am sorry I must, that you are the head and ringleader of a faction, whereby you hinder his maiesties service.

H. My Lord, I doe not conceive how this can be a faction, I speaking only, out of the noble respect and honor I beare your lordship, in private to you, to prevent a mischiefe, the sence of these men, who I perceiv'd were come to know by what authoritie, and why, their pouder, which is their proper goods, and only means of safetie, in these times of danger, should be taken from them; and if it were a faction, I am not the head of it, I, accidentally coming to towne from Sr. John Biron's last night, and neither knowing nor imagining any of this businesse, was this morning importun'd to waite on your lordship, at the town's hall, by many countrymen, who inform'd me you were taking away their pouder out of the country.

N. Cousin if you can answer it, I shall be glad of it: but I'll assure you I must let his maiestie know.

pouder in so dangerous a time, without an absolute command: my lord urged that he would restore it in ten dayes, Mr. Hutchinson replied, they might have use of it sooner, and he hoped my lord would not disarme his country in such a time of danger: my lord contemn'd the mention of danger, and ask'd what they could feare while he was their lord lieftenant and ready to serve them with his life: Mr. Hutchinson told him of some grounds to apprehend danger by reason of the dayly passing of armed men through the country, whereof there was now one troope in the towne, and that before they could repayre to

---

H. If his maiestie must know it, I am very happy I spoke to none but your lordship; who, I am confident, is so noble that you will neither adde nor diminish aniething to my preiudice, and then I am confident the iustnesse and reasonablenesse of what I have say'd, with my own innocencie in speaking it, will beare me out.

N. I, cousin, but your name is up alreadie.

H. It may be soe, my lord; and I believe those that sett it up had no good wishes to me, and as it rose, soe in the name of God, let it fall; for I know my owne clearenesse and innocencie in aniething that can be obiected against me.

N. Well, cousin, well; I am glad of your good resolution.

And so my lord left him. The gentlemen of the country that were there, upon consideration, what they should doe with their pouder, determin'd to returne my lord thanks for sparing it, and to lock it up with two locks, whereof the sheriffe should have one key, and the mayor another: which accordingly was done; but Mr. Hutchinson came no more at my lord.

my lord they might be destroy'd in his absence, and withall urg'd to him examples of their insolence; but my lord replied to all the urgency of the king's occasions for it, which were such that he could not dispence with it. It was in vaine to argue with him the property the country had in it, being bought with their money, and therefore not to be taken without their consent: my lord declar'd himselfe positively resolv'd to take it, whereupon Mr. Hutchinson left him. There were in the roome with him Sr. John Digby, the high sheriffe of the county, who was setting downe the weight of the pouder and match, and two or three captaines and others, that were busie weighing the pouder. By that time Mr. Hutchinson came downe, a good company of the country were gather'd together; whom Mr. Hutchinson acquainted what had pass'd betweene him and my lord, and they desir'd him that he would but please to stand to them, and they would part with all their blood before he should have a corne of it, and sayd moreover they would goe up and tumble my lord and the sheriffe out of the windores. Mr. Hutchinson seeing them so resolv'd desir'd them to stay below while he went yet once againe up to my lord, which they did, and he told my lord some of the countrie were come in, at whose request he was againe come to beseech his lordship to desist from his designe, which pursued might be of dangerous consequence. My lord replied, it could not be, for the king was very well assured of the chearefull compliance of the greatest part of the country with his service. Mr. Hutchinson told him whatever assurance his maiestie might have, if his lordship pleas'd to looke out, he might see no inconsiderable number below that would not willingly part with it. My lord replied they were but a few factious men, whereupon Mr. Hutchinson told him, since it was yet the happinesse of these unhappie times that no blood had bene spilt, he should be sorry the first should be shed upon my lord's occasion in his own country. My lord scornefully replied, feare it not, it cannot come to that, the king's occasions are urgent and must be serv'd. Whereupon Mr. Hutchinson looking out at the countriemen, they came very fast up the staires, and Mr. Hutchinson told him however he slighted it, not one there but would part with every drop of their blood before they would part with it, except he could shew a command or request for it under the king's hand, or would stay till the country were called in to give their consents, for it was their property, and all had interest in it, as bought with their money for the particular defence of the county. Then my lord fell to entreaties to borrow part of it, but that being alsoe denied, he tooke the sheriffe aside, and after a little conference they put up their bookes and left the pouder, when my lord turning to the people, sayd to them, Gentlemen, his majestie was by some assur'd of the chearefullnesse of this countries affections to him, whereof I am sorry to see so much failing, and that the county should fall so much short of the towne, who have chearefully lent his majesty one barrel of powder, but it seemes he can have none from you; I pray God you doe not repent this carriage of yours towards his majesty, which he must be acquainted withall. A bold countryman then stepping forth, by way of replie asked my lord, whither if he were to take a journey with a charge into a place where probably he should be set upon by theeves, if any friend should aske to borrow a sword he would part with it: my lord, sayd he, the case is ours, our lives, wives, children, and estates, all depend upon this countries safety, and how can it be safe in these dangerous times, when so many rude arm'd people passe dayly through it, if we be altogether disarm'd? My lord made no replie, but bade the men who were weighing the pouder desist, and went downe. Mr. Hutchinson follow'd him downe the staires, when an ancient gentleman that was sitting with my lord came and whispering him commended his and the countries zeal, and bade them stand to it and they would not be foyl'd. As they past through a long roome below my lord told Mr. Hutchinson he was sorry to find him in the head of a faction: Mr. Hutchinson replied, he could not tell how his lordship could call that a faction which was so accidentall as his being at that time in the towne, where hearing what was in hand, out of respect to his lordship, he only came to prevent mischiefe and danger, which he saw likelie to ensue. My lord replied he must informe the king, and told him his name was allready up, to which Mr. Hutchinson answered that he was glad, if the king must receive an information of him, it must be from so honorable a person; and for his name, as it rose, so in the name of God lett it fall: and so tooke his leave and went home. The rest of the country that were there determin'd to give my lord thankes for sparing their ammunition, and lockt it up with two locks, whereof the keye of the one was entrusted with the mayor of Nottingham, the other with the sheriffe of the county, which accordingly was done.[z]

---

[z] How my lord may have reported this matter to the king signifies little; but he probably remembered as a kindness

In the meane time, at Yorke, the king had sent the parliament a message, that he intended to goe in person to Ireland, and to rayse a guard for his owne person, about West Chester, which he would arme out of his magazine at Hull. But the parliament, having before intercepted a letter of the lord Digbie's, sent to the queene from Middleburg in Zealand, wherein he intimated, that, if the king would retire to some safe place, and declare himselfe, he should be able to waite upon him from thence, &c. Upon this letter and other presumptions, they suspected that the chiefe end of the king's going northward, was to seize the magazine at Hull, and arme himselfe from thence, against them; wherefore they sent a petition, for leave to remove that magazine to the tower of London, and accordingly had sent Sr. John Hotham thither to doe it. Sr. John prevented the Earle of Newcastle, whom the king had sent for the same purpose, to seize the magazine, and kept him out; at which the king was much incens'd, and on the 23d of Aprill 1642, went himselfe to Hull, attended with some noblemen, gentlemen, and souldiers, and de-

---

Mr. Hutchinson's interposition between him and the more rough arguments of the countrymen; for there appears to have existed, on all suitable occasions, an intercourse of friendship during the remainder of their lives.

manded entrance; but the gates were shutt, and Hotham, kneeling upon the wall, intreated the king not to command that, which, without breach of trust, he could not obey.

In conclusion, the king not getting entrance, proclaimed Hotham traitor, and sent a complaint of the affront to the parliament. The parliament iustified Hotham; many declarations about it were published on both sides, many crosse-commands, the parliament authorizing Hotham to issue out warrants to constables and other officers, to come in armed, to the defence of Hull, the king forbidding it. The king meane while in the north, summon'd divers of the nobility and gentry to attend him, and made speeches to them, to desire a guard for his person, pretending danger from the parliament. He then began to entertaine souldiers, and was much encourag'd by the defection of divers lords and many of the commons house, who forsooke their trust and came to him at Yorke; whereupon he call'd those who remain'd only a faction, a pretended parliament, and such names; but they continued still petitioning to him, and the well-affected and godly, in all countries, did the like, that he would returne to his parliament. The papists all over England were high partakers with him and promoters of his designes, and all the deboshts nobility and gentry, and their dependents, and the lewder rout of people; yet even of these some there were, that had English hearts, who came in to the parliament; but finding afterwards that the advance of liberty and righteousnesse could not consist with riot and ungodlinesse, they forsooke their party, and were content to be the king's slaves, rather than divorce themselves from those lusts, which found countenance from both priests and princes on one side; and on the other were preacht down by the ministers, and punisht by the magistrates.[a]

Towards the end of May, the parliament sent the king word, that if he would not disband his forces, and rely upon the lawes and affections of his people, for his security, as all good princes before him had done, they held themselves bound in duty to God and the people's trust reposed in them, and by the fundamentall lawes, to employ their utmost care and power, for securing the parliament and preserving the kingdome's peace. Whereupon they voted. "That it seems the king, seduced by wicked councell, intends a warre against the parliament, &c.

---

[a] Whatever may be said at this day of the hypocrisy of the religionists of those times, the most that can possibly be allowed, is that their professions might somewhat outgo their practice; but this must in some degree befal every Christian. No one can deny that, instead of captivating vulgar minds by breaking the bonds of morality, as modern demagogues have done, the forefathers of our liberties set the pattern of a religious and decent conduct, and caused the same to be observed in their armies with an exactness that surprizes us, and of which rigour many striking examples are to be found in Whitelock's Memorials.

"That whensoever the king makes warre upon the parliament, it is a breach of the trust reposed in him by the people, contrary to his oath, and tending to the dissolution of this government.

"That whosoever shall assist him in such warres, are traytors, by the fundamentall lawes of this kingdome, and have bene so adiudg'd, in two acts of parliament, 11 Richard 2, and 1 Henry 4; and that such persons ought to suffer as traytors."

Hereupon nine of the lords, that first went to the king, were summon'd to returne; who sending a letter of deniall, were, by the whole house of peers, sentenc'd to be incapable of ever sitting againe as members of that house, or of benefit or privilege of parliament, and to suffer imprisonment during pleasure. Then the lord keeper, who had appear'd firme to the parliament, and voted with them, for settling the militia by ordinance of parliamen, runne away to the king, after he had deliver'd up his seale, the day before, to one the king sent for it. The king, having this, issued out many proclamations, and among the rest, one that no man should obey the parliament's warrants, about setling the millitia. The parliament on the other side, made ordinances forbidding all men to rayse armes, by warrant from the king, without authority of parliament. And now they began to settle the kingdome's millitia, both by land and sea, and made the Earle of Warwick admirall, which place the king had conferr'd upon Sr. John Pennington, in the roome of the Earle of Northumberland, and commanded my lord of Warwick to resigne; but he chose to obey the parliament, and got the fleete at length wholly into his hands, and took a ship with ammunition comming to the king out of Holland. The parliament now, despairing of the king's returne, made an ordinance for mony and plate to be brought in, for raysing armes for the cause; which came in, in greate abundance, upon publick faith, and likewise horses and armes for the service. The king, who had receiv'd mony, armes, and ammnnition, which the queene had procur'd in Holland, by pawning the crowne iewells, sent out commissions of array, to arme the people in all counties, and mockt the parliament, using their owne words, wherein they invited men to arme for the defence of the protestant religion, the king's person, dignitie, and authority, the lawes of the land, the peace of the kingdome, and privelledge of parliament; and thus deceived many people, and gott contributions of plate, mony, and armes in the country. While these things were in transaction, the king made a solemne protestation before the lords, as in the presence of God, declaring that he would not engage them in any warre, against the parliament, but only for his necessary defence; that his desire was to maintaine the protestant religion, the liberties of the subiect, and privelledge of parliament; but the next day, he did some action so contrary to this protestation, that two of the lords durst not stay with him, but return'd to the parliament; and one of them coming back through Nottinghamshire, acquainted Mr. Hutchinson with the sad sence he had, discovering that falsehood in the king.

Now had the king rays'd an armie of three thousand foote and one thousand horse, with which he went to Beverley, in order to besiege Hull. When he was within two howers march of the place, Sr. John Hotham floated the country about it, and Sr. John Meldrum, sallying out of the towne, with five hundred townsmen, made the king's party retreate to Beverly: but however they beleagur'd the towne, into which the parliament sent a reliefe of five hundred men, by water, with whom Meldrum made another sally, routed the leaguer-souldiers, kill'd some, made others prisoners, tooke the magazine of arms and ammuniton, which was in a barne, with their fire-balls, and fired the barne. Hereupon the king's counsell of war broke up the siege, from whence the king went back to Yorke, and about the middle of August came to Nottingham, where he set up his standard royall, and hither his two nephewes, Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, came to him and were put into commands. The king marching through Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester, call'd together the trained bands as to attend him, disarm'd those counties, and march'd to Shrewsberry, and there sett up a mint and coyned the plate, that had bene brought in to him. Here a greate many men came in to him, with whom, marching into Warwickshire, he there fought his first battle at a village call'd Keynton[b]; it not being yett agreed who gain'd the victory that day.

As the king, on his part, made this progresse, so the parliament, on theirs, upon the twelfth of July, voted an armie to be rays'd, and the Earle of Essex to be generall of it. Divers of the lords, and severall members of the house of commons, tooke commissions, and rays'd regiments and companies under his command, who march'd with his armie of about fourteen thousand horse and foote to his rendezvous at Northampton, whither the parliament sent a petition to him, to be deliver'd to the king, in a safe and honorable way; the summe of which was, to beseeche him to forsake those wicked people with whom he was, and not to mix his danger with theirs, but to returne to his parliament, &c. The king intending to make Worcester a garrison, sent Prince Rupert thither; the Earle of Essex, to prevent him, sent other forces, betweene whom there was some skirmish, but the prince left the towne at their approach. My lord of Essex left a garrison in Northampton, put others into Coventry and Warwick, and went to Worcester. Here he made some stay, till the king, marching from Shrewsberrie, there was some apprehension of his going up to London, for which cause my lord left part of his artillery behind him, and follow'd the king's motions, which the king perceiving, tooke an opertunity, before his artillery and the foote left with it were come up to him, and resolv'd to give him battle; which was not declin'd on the other side, but fought with doubtfull successe, the circumstances whereof may be read at large in the stories of those things. The king's generall was slaine, his standard was taken, though not kept; but on the other side alsoe there were many brave men slaine and prisoners. My lord of Essex marcht to Coventry; the king to take up his winter quarters at Oxford, from whence Prince Rupert flew about the countries with his body of horse, plunder'd and did many barbarous things; insomuch that London, growing into apprehensions of the king's armie, the parliament call'd back the Earle of Essex to quarter about London; and he being return'd thither the king was advanc'd as farre as Colebrooke, where he was presented with a petition from the parliament for accommodation, to which he answer'd, with a protestation to God, how much he was griev'd for his subiects sufferings, and, in order to peace, was willing to reside neare London, to receive their propositions, and to treate with them. Assoone as ever the commissioners were gone, the king advanc'd with his horse and artillery towards London, and, taking the advantage of a greate mist, fell upon a broken regiment of Col. Hollis's quartered at Brainford, and kill'd many of them, and had destroy'd them all, but that Brooke's and Hampden's regiments, by Providence, came seasonably to their rescue; and then so many forces flockt with the generall, out of London, that the king was enclos'd, and the warre had bene ended, but that I know not how three thousand of the parliament's forces were call'd away by their procurement who design'd the continuance of the warre; and so the king had a way of retreate left open, by which he gott back to Oxford, and the parliament's generall was sent out againe[c] with their armie; whose proceedings I shall take up againe in their due places, so farre as is necessarrie to be remember'd, for the story I most particularly intend.

---

[b] Commonly called Edge-hill fight. Both king and parliament claimed the victory, but our authoress shews rather more candour than either. The king's main design of marching to London was however frustrated, and therefore the parliament might be most properly termed gainers,

Before the flame of the warre broke out in the top of the chimnies, the smoake ascended in every country; the king had sent forth commissions of array, and the parliament had given out commissions for their millitia, and sent of their members into all counties to put them in execution. Betweene these in many places there were fierce contests and disputes, allmost to blood, even at the first; for in the progresse every county had the civill warre, more or lesse, within itselfe. Some counties were in the beginning so wholly for the parliament, that the king's interest appear'd not in them; some so wholly for the king, that the godly, for those generally were the parliament's friends, were forc'd to forsake their habitations, and seeke other shelters: of this sort was Nottinghamshire. All the nobillity and gentry, and their dependents, were generally for the king, the chiefe of whose names I shall summe up here, because I shall often have occasion to mention them. The greatest famely was the Earle of Newcastle's[d], a lord so much once beloved in his country that, when the first expedition was against the Scotts, the gentlemen of the country sett him forth two troopes, one all of gentlemen, the other of their men, who waited on him into the north at their own charges. He had indeed, through his greate estate, his liberall hospitality, and constant residence in his country, so endear'd them to him, that no man was a greater prince than he in all that northerne quarter, till a foolish ambition of glorious slavery carried him to court, where he ran himselfe much in debt, to purchase neglects of the king and queene, and scornes of the proud courtiers. Next him was the Earle of Kingston, a man of vast estate, and not lesse covetousnesse, who devided his sonns betweene both parties, and conceal'd himselfe, till at length his fate drew him to declare himselfe absolutely on the king's side, wherein he behav'd himselfe honorably, and died remarkably. His eldest sonne[e] was lord lieftenant of the county, and at that time no nobleman had a greater reputation in the court for learning and generosity then he, who was so high of the king's partie, that the parliament was very much incens'd against him. Lord Chesterfield and all his famely were highly of the royall party: so was the Lord Chaworth; the Earle of Clare was very often of both parties, and I thinke never advantag'd either. All the popish gentry were wholly for the king, whereof one Mr. Golding, next neighbour to Mr. Hutchinson, had bene a private collector of the catholicks' contributions to the Irish rebellion, and for that was by the queene's procurement made a knight and baronett. Sir John Biron, afterwards Lord Biron, and all his brothers bred up in arms, and valiant men in their owne persons, were all passionately the king's. Sr. John Savill, a man of vast estate, was the like: so were Sr. Gervas Eyre, Sr. John Digby, Sr. Matthew Palmer, Sr. Thomas Williamson, Sr. Roger Cowper, Sr. W. Hickman, Sr. Hugh Cartwright, Sr. T. Willoughby, Sr. Thomas Smith, Sr. Thomas Blackwell, Markham, Perkins, Tevery, Pearce, Palme, Wood, Sanderson, Moore, Mellish, Butler, with divers others.—Of the parliament men, Mr. Sutton, afterwards Lord Lexington, and Sr. Gervas Clifton, forsooke the parliament, went to the king, and executed his commission of array. Mr. William Stanhope left the parliament, and came home disaffected to them, whose eldest sonne was after slaine in the king's service. Mr. William Pierrepont,[f] second sonne of the Earl of Kingston, was of the parliament, though he

---

[c] The account Mrs. Hutchinson gives of the affair of Brentford is much more clear and probable than that given by Rapin, vol. ii. p. 465. Indeed he himself seems dissatisfied with those varying accounts he could collect of that business from Clarendon and others: but Ludlow, who was a military man and an eye-witness, gives a clear account, agreeing with that of Mrs. Hutchinson.

---

[d] This title was at that time in the family of Cavendish, of which this line ceased with the nobleman here mentioned.

---

[e] Lord Newark, before spoken of. In Collins's Peerage, under the title of Duke of Kingston, there are cited singular proofs of this nobleman's learning.

---

[f] From this gentleman the late Duke of Kingston and the present Earl Manvers are lineally descended. His wisdom as a politician is sufficiently evinced by this masterly stroke, which decided the fate of the king and the parliament: of his moderation Whitelock speaks repeatedly: of his eloquence there are preserved by Rushworth some specimens, from one of which is extracted this as a sigular trait of candour and delicacy. "It is pleasing to the nature of man that others
" should obey his will, and well-framed dispositions of princes
" may easily be persuaded their power is unlimited, when
" they are also put in mind that they have therefore more
" cause to do well, and for doing well are more renowned:
" for the most oppressive designs we have suffered under, the
" pretences to his majesty have been the good of his subjects:
" his is the sin, who is to judge by the laws, who knows the

serv'd not for his owne country, to which notwithstanding he was an ornament, being one of the wisest councellors and excellent speakers in the house, and by him was that bill promoted and carried on which past for the continuation of this parliament. He had a younger brother living at Nottingham, who coldly owned the parliament. Sr. Thomas Hutchinson continued with the parliament, was firme to their cause, but infinitely desirous the difference might rather have bene compos'd by accommodation, then ended by conquest; and therefore did not emproove his interest to engage the country in the quarrell, which, if he could have prevented, he would not have had come to a warre. He was however clearly on the parliament side, and never discourag'd his two sons, who thought this prudentiall tardinesse in their father was the declension of that vigour which they deriv'd from him, and which better became their youth. It is true they were the foremost in poynt of time and in degree, except a piece of a nobleman that was after drawne in, who

---

“ laws are to the contrary, yet puts and confirms such thoughts “ in his prince. He that incites another to arbitrary government usually doth it for self-ends, and when they are compassed, hates him for taking that power he himself persuaded him unto.” This will be found an elegant solution of the paradox which appears in the character given by Mrs. Hutchinson of Charles the First, “ that so good a man should “ make so bad a Prince.”

owned the parliament's interest in their country. Mr. Henry Ireton, their cousin, was elder then they, and having had an education in the strictest way of godlinesse, and being a very grave and solid person, a man of good learning, greate understanding, and other abillities, to which was ioyn'd a willing and zealous heart to the cause and his country, he was the chiefe promoter of the parliament's interest in the country; but finding it generally disaffected, all he could doe, when the king approacht it, was to gather a troope of those godly people which the cavilliers drove out, and with them he went into my lord of Essex his armie; which he, being a single person, might the better doe: Mr. Hutchinson was not willing so soone to quitt his house, to which he was so lately come, if he could have bene suffer'd to live quietly in it, but his affections to the parliament being taken notice of, he became an object of envie to the other party.

Sr. Thomas Hutchinson, a little before the standard was sett up, was come to Nottingham, where his house was, to see his children and refresh himselfe, when, hearing of the king's intentions to come to the towne, he, some days before his comming, went over to Owthorpe, his sonn's house, to remaine there till he could fitt himselfe to returne to the parliament. One day, as Mr. Hutchinson was at dinner, the mayor of Nottingham sent him word that the high sheriffe had broken open the lock of the countrie's ammuniton, which was left in his trust, and was about to take it away. Mr. Hutchinson immediately went in all hast to prevent it, but before he came to the towne it was gone, and some of the king's souldiers were allready come io towne, and were plund'ring all the honest men of their armes. As one of them had taken a muskett, seeing Mr. Hutchinson goe by, he wisht it loaden for his sake, and sayd he hoped the day would shortly come when all such roundheads would be faire markes for them. This name of Roundhead comming so opertunely in, I shall make a little digression to tell how it came up. When puritanisme grew into a faction, the zealotts distinguisht themselves, both men and women, by severall affectations of habitt, lookes, and words, which, had it bene a reall declension of vanity, and embracing of sobriety in all those things, had bene most commendable in them; but their quick forsaking of those things, when they were where they would be, shew'd that they either never tooke them up for conscience, or were corrupted by their prosperity to take up those vaine thingsthey durst not practise under persecution. Among other affected habitts few of the puritanes, what degree soever they were of, wore their haire long enough to cover their eares, and the ministers and many others cut it close round their heads, with so many little peakes, as was something ridiculous to behold; whereupon Cleaveland, in his Hue and Crie after them, begins,

With hayre in Characters and Luggs in Text, &c.

From this custome of wearing their haires, that name of Roundhead became the scornefull terme given to the whole parliament party; whose army indeed marcht out so, but as if they had bene sent out only till their haire was growne: two or three yeares after any stranger that had scene them, would have enquir'd the reason of that name. It was very ill applied to Mr. Hutchinson, who having naturally a very fine thicksett head of haire, kept it clean and handsome, so that it was a greate ornament to him, although the godly of those dayes, when he embrac'd their party, would not allow him to be religious because his hayre was not in their cutt, nor his words in their phraze, nor such little formallities altogether fitted to their humor, who were, many of them, so weake as to esteeme rather for such insignificant circumstances, then for solid wisdome, piety, and courage, which brought reall ayd and honor to their party: but as Mr. Hutchinson chose not them, but the God they serv'd, and the truth and righteousneese they defended, so did not their weakenesses, censures, ingratitude, and discouraging behaviour, with which he was abundantly exercis'd all his life, make him forsake them in any thing wherein they adher'd to iust and honorable principles or practizes, but when they apostatized from these, none cast them of with greater indignation, how shining soever the profession were that guilt, not a temple of living grace, but a tomb, which only held the carkase of religion. Instead of digressing, I shall ramble into an inextricable wildernesse, if I pursue this sad remembrance: to returne therefore to his actions at that time,

When he found the pouder gone, and saw the souldiers taking up quarters in the towne, and heard their threates and revilings, he went to his father's house in the towne, where he had not bene longe but an uncivill fellow stept into the house, with a carabine in his hand; Mr. Hutchinson askt what he would have; the man replied, he came to take possession of the house; Mr. Hutchinson told him, he had the possession of it, and would know on what right it was demanded from him; the man sayd, he came to quarter the generall there; Mr. Hutchinson told him, except his father and mother, and their children, were turn'd out of doores, there was no roome; the quarter-master, upon this growing insolent, Mr. Hutchinson thrust him out of the house, and shut the doores upon him. Immediately my lord of Lindsey came himselfe, in a great chafe, and ask'd who it was that denied him quarter? Mr. Hutchinson told him, he that came to take it up for him deserv'd the usage he had, for his uncivill demeanour, and those who had quarter'd his lordship there had much abus'd him, the house being no wayes fitt to receive a person of his quallity, which, if he pleas'd to take a view of it, he would soone perceive; whereupon my lord, having seene the roomes, was very angry they had made no better provision for him, and would not have layne in the house, but they told him the towne was so full that it was impossible to gett him roome any where elce. Hereupon he told Mr. Hutchinson, if they would only allow him one roome, he would have no more; and when he came upon termes of civillity, Mr. Hutchinson was as civill to him, and my lord only employ'd one roome, staying there with all civillity to those that were in the house. Assoone as my lord was gone, Mr. Hutchinson was inform'd by a friend, that the man he had turn'd out of doores was the quarter-master generall, who, upon his complaint, had procur'd a warrant to seize his person; whereupon Mr. Hutchinson, with his brother, went immediately home to his owne house at Owthorpe. About four or five dayes after a troope of cavilliers, under the command of Sr. Lewis Dives, came to Stanton, near Owthorpe, and searcht Mr. Needham's house, who was a noted puritane in those dayes, and a collonell in the parliament's service, and governor of Leicester: they found not him, for he hid himselfe in the gorse, and so escaped them; his house being lightly plunder'd, they went to Hickling and plunder'd another puritane house there, and were comming to Owthorpe, of which Mr. Hutchinson having notice, went away to Leicestershire; but they, though they had orders to seize Mr. Hutchinson, came not at that time because the night grew on; but some dayes after he was gone another company came and search'd for him, and for arms and plate, of which finding none, they tooke nothing elce.

Two dayes after Mr. Hutchinson was in Leicestershire he sent for his wife, who was then big with child, to come thither to him, where she had not bene a day, but a letter was brought him from Nottingham, to give him notice that there was a warrant sent to the Sheriffe of Leicestershire to seize his person. Upon this he determined to go the next day into Northamptonshire, but at five of the clock that evening the sound of their trumpetts told him a troope was comming into the towne; he stay'd not to see them, but went out at the other end as they came in, who, by a good providence for his wife, (somewhat aflicted to be so left alone in a strange place) proved to be commanded by her owne brother, Sr. Allen Apsley, who quarter'd in the next house to that where she was, till about two or three dayes before all the king's horse that were thereabouts march'd away, being commanded upon some service to go before the rest.

Mr. Hutchinson, in the meane time, was carried by a servant that waited on him to the house of a substantiall honest yeoman, who was bayliffe to the lord of the towne[g] of Kelmarsh, in Northamptonshire; this man and his wife, being godly, gave Mr. Hutchinson very kind entertainment, and prevailed with him to be acquainted with their master, who had iust then made ready plate and horses to goe in to the king, that had now sett up his standard at Nottingham; but Mr. Hutchinson diverted him, and persuaded him and another gentleman of quality, to carrie in those aydes, they had provided for the king, to my lord generall Essex, who was then at Northampton, where Mr. Hutchinson visited him, and could gladly at that time have engag'd with him, but that he did not then find a cleare call from the Lord; and therefore, intelligence being brought of the king's remoove, he was now returning to his wife, when unawares he came into a town, where one of Prince Rupert's troopes was, which he narrowly escap'd, and returning to his former honest host, sent a letter to his wife, to acquaint her what hazard he was in, by attempting to come to her, but that as soone as the horse was marcht away, he would be with her. This letter was intercepted, at Prince Rupert's quarters, and opened and sent her. There was with Prince Rupert, at that time, one Captaine Welch, who having us'd to come to Captaine Apsley, and seene Mrs. Hutchinson with him, made a pretence of civillity to visitt her, that day that all the Prince's horse marcht away. They marcht by the doore of the house where she was, and all the household were gone out to see them, and had left her alone in the house, with Mr. George Hutchinson, who was in her chamber, when Capt. Welch came in, and she went downe into the parlour to receive him. He taking occasion to tell her of her husband's letter, by way of complement, sayd it was a pittie she should have a husband so unworthy of her, as to enter into any faction, which should make him not dare to be seene with her; whereat she being peek'd, and thinking they were all marcht away, told him he was mistaken, she had not a husband that would at any time hide himselfe from him, or that durst not shew his face where any honest man durst appeare; and to confirme you, sayd she, he shall now come to you; with that she call'd downe her brother, who, upon a private hint, own'd the name of husband she gave him, and receiv'd a compliment from Welch, that in any other place he had bene oblig'd to make him a prisoner, but here he was in sanctuary; and so, after some little discourse, went away. When the gentleman of the house and the rest of the famely, that had bene seeing the march, were return'd, and while they sate laughing together, att those that went to see the Prince, telling how some of the neighbouring ladies were gone allong with him, and Mrs. Hutchinson telling how she had abused the captaine, with Mr. Hutchinson insteed of her husband, the captaine came back, bringing another gentleman with him, and told Mr. Hutchinson, that his horse having lost a shoe, he must be his prisoner, 'till the smith releast him; but they had not sate long, ere a boy came in with two pistolls, and whispered the captaine, who desiring Mr. Hutchinson and the gentleman of the house to walke into the next roome, seiz'd Mr. George, in the name of Mr. John Hutchinson. It booted not for them both to endeavour to undeceive him, by telling him Mr. John was still at Northampton, for he would not, at least would seeme not, to believe them, and carried him away, to be reveng'd of Mrs. Hutchinson, att whom he was vex'd for having deluded him: soe, full of wicked joy, to have found an innocent gentleman, whom he knew the bloodhounds were after, he went and inform'd the prince, and made it of such moment, as if they had taken a much more considerable person. The prince had sent back a troope of dragoones to guard him to them, which troope had besett the house and towne, before Welch came in to them the second time, when, notwithstanding all informations of his error, he carried away Mr. Hutchinson, and putt his sister into affright and distemper with it; which when the woemen about her saw, they rail'd at him for his treachery and basenesse, but to no purpose. Assoone as he overtooke the body of horse, with his prisoner, there was a shout from one end to the other of the souldiers. Mr. Hutchinson, being brought to the prince, told him he was the younger brother, and not the person he sent for, which three or four of the Birons, his cousin germanes, acknowledg'd to be soe, yet Welch outswore them all, that it was Mr. John Hutchinson. The Lord Viscount Grandison, a cousin germane of Mrs. Hutchinson's, was then in the king's armie, to whom she immediately dispatcht a messenger, to entreate him to obliege her, by the procurement of her brother's liberty, who, upon her imprudence, had bene brought into that trouble: my lord sent her word, that, for the present, he could not obteine it, but he would endeavour it afterwards, and in the meane time gave her notice that it was not safe for her husband to returne, there being forty men left to lie close in the country, and watch his coming to her. So Mr. George Hutchinson was carried to Derby, and there, with some difficulty, his liberty obtein'd, by the interposition of my Lord Grandison and the Birons. They would have had him to have given them an engagement, that he would not take arms with the parliament; but he refus'd, telling them, he liv'd peaceably at home, and should make no engagement to doe any thing, but what his conscience led him to, that if they pleas'd, they might deteine him, but it would be no advantage to them, nor losse to the other side; upon which considerations, they were perswaded to lett him goe. Immediately after his release, he went to London to his father, where his elder brother was before him; for assoone as he understood from his wife what his brother suffer'd in his name, he tooke post to London, to procure his release, and there they both stay'd till they receiv'd assurance, that the king's forces were quite drawne out of the country, and then they together return'd to Leicestershire, where Mrs. Hutchinson, within a few dayes after her brother was taken, was brought to bed of her eldest daughter, which by reason of the mother's and the nurse's griefes and frights, in those troublesomes times, was so weake a child that it liv'd not foure yeares, dying afterwards in Nottingham castle. When Mr. Hutchinson came to his wife, he carried her and her children, and his brother, back againe to his house, about the time that the battle was fought at Edge Hill. After this the two brothers, going to Nottingham, mett there most of the godly people, who had bene driven away, by the rudenesse of the king's armie, and plunder'd upon the account of godlinesse, who were now return'd to their famelies, and desireous to live in peace with them, but having, by experience, found they could not doe so, unless the parliament interest were maintein'd, they were consulting how to rayse some recruites for the Earle of Essex, to assist in which Mr. Hutchinson had provided his plate and horses ready to send in.

---

[g] It is customary, in Nottinghamshire, to call every village of any size a town.

About this time Sr. John Gell, a Derbyshire gentleman, who had bene sheriffe of the county, at that time, when the illegall tax of ship-money was exacted, and so violent in the prosecution of it, that he sterv'd Sr. John Stanhope's cattle in the pound, and would not suffer any one to relieve them there, because that worthy gentleman stood out against that uniust payment, and who had by many aggravating circumstances, not only concerning his prosecution of Sr. John Stanhope, but others, soe highly misdemean'd himselfe that he lookt for punishment from the parliament, to prevent it, very early putt himselfe into their service, and after the king was gone out of these countries, prevented the cavalier gentry from seizing the towne of Derby, and fortified it, and rays'd a regiment of foote. These were good, stout, fighting men, but the most licentious ungovernable wretches, that belonged to the parliament. He himselfe, no man knowes for what reason he chose that side; for he had not understanding enough to iudge the equity of the cause, nor pietie or holinesse, being a fowle adulterer all that time he serv'd the parliament, and so uniust, that, without any remorse, he suffer'd his men indifferently to plunder, both honest men and caviliers; so revengefull, that he persued his mallice to Sr. John Stanhope, upon the foremention'd account, with such barbarisme after his death, that he, pretending to search for arms and plate, came into the church and defac'd his monument that cost six hundred pounds, breaking off the nose and other parts of it; he digg'd up a garden of flowers, the only delight of his widdow, upon the same pretence; and thus woo'd that widdow, who was by all the world believ'd to be the most prudent and affectionate of womankind, but deluded by his hypocrisies, consented to marry him, and found that was the utmost poynt to which he could carrie his revenge, his future carriage making it apparent he sought her for nothing elce but to destroy the glory of her husband and his house. This man kept the diurnall makers[h] in pension, so that whatever was done in the neighbouring counties, against the enemy, was attributed to him; and thus he hath indirectly purchas'd himselfe a name in story, which he never merited; who was a very bad man, to summe up all in that word, yet an instrument of service to the parliament in those parts. I thought it necessary to insert this little account of him here, because there will be often occasion to mention him, in my following discourse; and because, although there never was any personall acquaintance betweene him and Mr. Hutchinson, yet that naturall antipathie which is betweene good and evil, render'd him a very bad neighbour to Mr. Hutchinson's garrison, and one that, under the name of a friend and assistant, spoyl'd our country, as much as our enemies. He indeed gave his men leave to commit all insolencies, without any restreint,

---

[h] Sir John Gell succeeded so far as to get some of this puffing intelligence introduced even into his Memorials by Whitelock; who, p. 186, talks of an expedition where he killed five of the enemy! He likewise gives him the honour of taking Shelford Manor, at least two years before it was really

---

taken by Colonel Hutchinson. It is very much to be wondered at, that Mrs. Hutchinson no where speaks of his trial and condemnation for misprision of treason, which Whitelock notes in the year 1650, during the time of Mr. Hutchinson's being in the second council of state. He is said to have been convicted on the full evidence of Bernard and Titus. Col. Andrews, who was condemned along with him, gave an attestation on his behalf a little before his death. Whitelock does not say what this treason consisted in, but he was pardoned by the third council, just before Cromwell's usurpation: and was among those members of parliament who opposed him boldly.

whereas Mr. Hutchinson took up armes to defend the country as much as was possible from being a prey to rude souldiers, and did oftentimes preserve it both from his and other rude troopes[1], which stirr'd up in him envie, hate, and ill will against his neighbour. He was not wise in ordering the scouts and spies he kept out, and so had the worst intelligence in the world. Mr. Hutchinson, on the other side, employ'd ingenuous persons, and was better inform'd of the true state of things, and so, oftentimes communicated those informations, to the chiefe commanders, which convinc'd the falsehood of his; and that was another cause of envie. Some that knew him well, sayd he was not valliant, though his men once held him up, among a stand of pikes, while they obtein'd a glorious victory, when the Earle of Northampton was slaine; certeine it is he was never by his good will in a fight, but either by chance or necessity; and that which made his courage the more question'd was, the care he tooke, and the expence he was att, to get it weekely mentioned in the diurnalls, so that when they had nothing elce to renowne him for, they once put in that the troopes of that valiant commander Sr. John Gell tooke a dragoon with a plush doublett. Mr. Hutchinson, on the other side, that did well for vertue's sake, and not for the vaine glory of it, never would give aniething, to buy the flatteries of those scriblers, and when one of them had once, while he was in towne, made mention of something done at Nottingham, with falsehood, and given Gell the glory of an action wherein he was not concern'd, Mr. Hutchinson rebuk'd him for it, whereupon the man begg'd his pardon, and told him he would write as much for him, the next weeke; but Mr. Hutchinson told him he scorn'd his mercenary pen, only warn'd him not to dare to lie in any of his concernments, whereupon the fellow was awed, and he had no more abuse of that kind.

---

[1] To the interposition of such men as Colonel Hutchinson, we must attribute the proportionably small quantity of mischief that was suffered by this nation, in so long and sharp a civil war as this was.

But to turne out of this digression into another, not altogether impertinent to the story which I would carrie on. In Nottinghamshire, upon the edge of Derbyshire, there dwelt a man, who was of meane birth and low fortunes, yet had kept company with the underling gentry of his neighbourhood: this man had the most factious, ambitious, vaineglorious, envious, and mallitious nature that is imaginable; but he was the greatest dissembler, flatterer, traitor, and hypocrite that ever was, and herein had a kind of wicked policy, knowing himself to be inferiour to all gentlemen, he put on a vizard of Godlinesse and humillity, and courted the common people with all plausibillity and flattery that could be practiz'd; all this while he was addicted to many lusts, especially to that of weomen, but practiz'd them so secretly, that they were not vulgarly taken notice of, though God, to shame him, gave him up to marrie a wench out of one of the alehouses he frequented; but to keepe up a fame of godlinesse, he gave large contributions to puritane preachers, who had the art to stop the people's mouths, from speaking ill of their benefactors. By a thousand arts this fellow became popular, and insinuated himselfe so, into all the gentlemen, that own'd the parliament's party, that till he was discover'd some years after, they believ'd him a most true-hearted, faithfull, vigilant, active man for the godly interest; but he could never climb higher than a presbyterian persecutor, and in the end fell quite of to a declar'd cavalier. In Sr. George Booth's business, thinking he could sway the scales of a country, he rays'd a troope, and brought them into Derby, and publisht a declaration of his owne for the king, then ranne away to Nottingham, and lost all his troope in the route there, and hid himselfe till the king[k] came in, when he was rewarded for his revolt with an office, which he enioy'd not many months, his wife and he, and some of his children, dying all together in a few dayes of a feaver little lesse than the plague. This man, call'd Charles White, att the beginning of the civill warre got a troope of dragoones, who arm'd and mounted themselves out of devotion to the parliament's cause, and being of his neighbourhood, marcht forth in his conduct, he having procur'd a commission to be their captaine, and they, having stocks and famelies, were not willing to march as farre as the armie, but ioyn'd themselves to those who were allready in arms at Derby.

---

[k] By the king is here meant Charles the Second.

After the battle at Edge-hill, Sr. John Digby, the high sheriffe of Nottinghamshire, return'd from the king, and had a designe of securing the county against the parliament, whereupon he sent out summons to all the gentlemen resident in the country to meete him at Newark. Mr. Hutchinson was at the house of Mr. Francis Pierrepont, the Earl of Kingston's third sonne, when the letter was deliver'd him, and another of the same to Mr. Pierrepont, and while they were reading them, and considering what might be the meaning of this summons, an honest man, of the sheriffe's neighbourhood, came and gave them notice, that the sheriffe had some designe in agitation, for he had assembled and arm'd about fourscore of his neighbours, to goe out with them to Newark, and, as they heard, from thence to Southwell, and from thence to Nottingham, through which towne many arm'd men marcht day and night, to their greate terror. Mr. Hutchinson, upon this intimation, went home, and instead of going to meete the sheriffe, sent an excuse, by an intelligent person, well acquainted with all the country, who had orders to find out their designe; which he did so well, that he assur'd Mr. Hutchinson if he and some others had gone in, they would have bene made prisoners: for the sheriffe came into Newark with a troope of 80 men, with whom he was gone to Southwell, and was to goe the next day to Nottingham, to secure those places for the king. Mr. Hutchinson immediately went with his brother and acquainted them at Nottingham with his intelligence, which they had likewise receiv'd from other hands. Although the towne was generally more malignants then well affected, yet they cared not much to have cavalier soldiers quarter with them, and therefore agreed to defend themselves against any force which should come against them, and being call'd hastily together, as the exigence requir'd, about seven hundred listed themselves, and chose Mr. George Hutchinson for their captaine, who having liv'd among them, was very much lov'd and esteemed by them. The sheriffe hearing this, came not to Nottingham, but those who were now there thus became engaged to prosecute the defence of themselves, the towne, and country, as farre as they could. They were but few, and those not very considerable, and some of them not very hearty; but it pleas'd God here, as in other places, to carry on his worke by weake and unworthy instruments. There were seven aldermen in the towne, and of these only alderman James, then mayor, own'd the parliament. He was a very honest, bold man, but had no more but a burgher's discretion; he was yett very well assisted by his wife, a woman of greate zeal and courage, and more understanding then weomen of her ranke usuall have. All the devout people of the towne were very vigorous and ready to offer their lives and famelies, but there was not halfe the halfe of the towne that consisted of these; the ordinary civill sort of people coldly adher'd to the better, but all the debosht, and such as had liv'd upon the bishops persecuting courts, and bene the lacqueys of proiectors and monopolizers, and the like, they were all bitterly malignant; yett God awed them, that they could not at that time hinder his people, whom he overrul'd some of their greatest enemies to assist, such as were one Chadwick and Plumptre, two who, at the first, put themselves most forward into the businesse. Plumptre was a doctor of phisick, an inhabitant of Nottingham, who had learning, naturall parts, and understanding enough to discerne betweene naturall civill righteousnesse and iniustice, but he was a horrible atheist, and had such an intolerable pride, that he brook'd no superiours, and having some witt, tooke the boldnesse to exercise it, in the abuse of all the gentlemen wherever he came.[1] Sr. Thomas Hutchinson first brought him into creditt and practise in the country, it having pleased God to make him instrumentall in the cure of Mr. George Hutchinson, who had in vaine tried the skill of the best doctors in England, for an epileptick disease, under which he labour'd some yeares. Upon this occasion, Sr. Thomas, and both his sonns, gave him much respect, and this cure gave him reputation, and introduc'd him into practise, in all the gentlemen's houses in the country, which he soone lost againe by his most abusive tongue and other ill carriages, and was even gott out of favour with Sr. Thomas Hutchinson himselfe, for some abusive scoffes given out against his lady: but Mr. Hutchinson and his brother, in pitty to him, and in remembrance of what God had done through him, still owned him, and protected him a little against the bitter zealotts, though it was impossible for his darknesse and their light long to continue mix'd. This man had sence enough to approove the parliament's cause, in poynt of civill right, and pride enough to desire to breake the bonds of slavery, whereby the king endeavour'd to chaine up a free people, and upon these scores appearing high for the parliament's interest, he was admitted into the consultations of those who were then putting the country into a posture of defence.[m]

---

[1] It is said of him, in Thoroton's history of Notts, "he "was a person eminent in his profession, of great note for "wit and learning, as he had formerly been for poetry, when "he printed a book of epigrams:" a species of composition which the more it pleases the reader, the less it renders the author beloved. This inclination to sport with the feelings of others was not at all likely to recommend him to Mr. Hutchinson, nor make him a good associate in weighty and serious business.

---

[m] Doubtless many adhered to the parliament's side merely on a civil and political account, and these would naturally unite with the independents, as having no inclination to support the pretensions of the presbyterians. It is said by Clarendon that many deists took part with the independents; and it is not improbable that Dr. Plumptre might have an inclination at least to scepticism, as sarcasm was his talent, and for this by Mrs. Hutchinson, who was a rigorist, he was termed an atheist.

After the deaths of Colonel Hutchinson and Dr. Plumptre

Chadwick was a fellow of a most pragmaticall temper, and, to say truth, had strangely wrought himselfe into a station unfitt for him. He was at first a boy that scrap'd trenchers in the house of one of the poorest justices in the county, but yet such a one as had a greate deale of formallity and understanding of the statute law, from whom this boy pick'd such ends of law, that he became first the iustice's, then a lawyer's clearke; then, I know not how, gott to be a parcell-iudge in Ireland, and came over to his owne country swell'd with the reputation of it, and sett on foote a base, obsolete, arbitrary court there, which the

---

there began a great friendship between their families, which lasted many generations. Charles, the half brother of Colonel Hutchinson, and his successor in his estate at Owthorpe and in the borough of Nottingham, was guardian of Dr. Plumptre's son, and is represented by Thoroton to have executed his trust with great fidelity.

The Editor has in his possession several pieces, in verse and prose, written by the late Dr. Charles Hutchinson in favour of the last Mr. Plumptre, who represented the town of Nottingham, and in vindication of him against a party headed by Langford Collin, Esq. a lineal descendant of Colonel Hutchinson's master gunner, who will be spoken of hereafter: they are all in a jocose or satirical style; but one of them, a short advertisement, which too well described Mr. Collin, was deemed libellous, and cost Dr. Hutchinson 500*l.* which was well repaid by Mr. Plumptre's obtaining for him a king's living of 350*l.* per ann. At this time Mr. Plumptre and Mr. Hutchinson's families were of the Whig or Hanover party, Mr. Collin of the Tory or Jacobite.

Conqueror of old had given to one Peverel, his bastard, which this man entitling my lord Goring unto, executed the office under him, to the greate abuse of the country. At the beginning of the parliament, they had prosecuted him for it, but that my lord Goring beg'd of Sr. Thomas Hutchinson to spare him, and promis'd to lay it downe for ever: so from the beginning of the parliament he executed not that office, but having an insinuatting witt and tongue, procur'd himselfe to be deputy recorder of Nottingham, my lord of Clare being chiefe. When the king was in towne a little before, this man so insinuated into the court that, comming to kisse the king's hand, the king told him he was a very honest man; yet by flatteries and dissimulations he kept up his credit with the godly, cutting his haire, and taking up a forme of godlinesse, the better to deceive. In some of the corrupt times he had purchased the honor of a barrister, though he had neither law nor learning, but he had a voluble tongue, and was crafty; and it is allmost incredible that one of his meane education and poverty should arrive to such things as he reacht: he was very poore, although he got abundance of mony by a thousand cheates, and other base wayes, wherein he exercis'd all his life, for he was as greate a prodigall in spending as knave in getting, and among other villanies, which he secretly practis'd, was a libidinous goate, for which his wife, they say, pay'd him with making him a cuckold; yett were there not two persons to be found that pretended more sanctity than he and she, who had a tongue no lesse glavering and false then his. This basenesse he had, that all the iust reproaches in the world could not moove him, but he would fawne upon any man that told him of his villanies to his face, even at the very time. Never was a truer Judas, since Iscariott's time, then he, for he would kisse the man he had in his heart to kill; he naturally delighted in mischiefe and treachery, and was so exquisite a villaine, that he destroy'd those designes he might have thriven by, with over laying them with fresh knaveries. I have bene a little tedious in these descriptions, yet have spoken very little in comparison of what the truth would beare; indeed such assistants as these were enough to disgrace the best cause by their owning of it, but the truth of God, being above the testimony of men, could neither receive credit from the good, nor discredit from the worst men: but they were not all such, who first offer'd themselves to carrie on the Lord's worke with him of whom wee chiefely treate. There was then dwelling at Nottingham a third sonne of the Earl of Kingston's, a man of good naturall parts, but not of education according to his quallity, who was in the maine well affected to honest men, and to righteous liberty; a man of a very excellent good nature, and full of love to all men; but that his goodnesse receiv'd a little allay by a vaine-glorious pride, which could not well brooke any other should outstrip him in virtue and estimation.[n] Mr. Francis Thornhagh, the eldest sonne of Sr. Francis Thornhagh, was a man of a most upright faithfull heart to God and God's people, and to his countrie's true interest, comprehended in the parliament's cause; a man of greater vallour or more noble daring fought not for them, nor indeed ever drew sword in any cause; he was of a most excellent good nature to all men, and zealous for his friend; he wanted councell and deliberation, and was sometimes too facile to flatterers, but had iudgment enough to discerne his errors when they were represented to him, and worth enough not to persist in an iniurious mistake because he had once entertained it.[o] Mr. Pigott was a very religious, serious, wise gentleman, true-hearted to God and his country, of a generous and liberal nature, and that thought nothing too deare to expose, nor too difficult to undertake, for his friend; one that delighted not in the ruin of his neighbours, but could endure it, rather then the destruction of religion, law, and liberty; one that wanted not courage, yet chose rather to venture himselfe as a single person then a leader in armes, and to serve his country in councell then in action; there was no man in his nature, and his whole deportment, shew'd himselfe more a gentleman than he.[p] There was one Mr. Wid-

---

[n] Mr. Francis Pierrepont, who will frequently be mentioned again in the course of the story, when it will be clearly seen that Mrs. Hutchinson here speaks with candour, or rather favour, of him, though he was her husband's opponent.

[o] Colonel Thornhagh is often mentioned by other writers,

---

and always with praise in his military capacity, in which only he was known to the public. Mrs. Hutchinson here delineates with a masterly hand a frank, open, unsuspecting, amiable soldier. The family of Colonel Thornhagh continued to flourish in the county of Nottingham so late as the year 1750, at which time one of them represented the county; they are believed to be now extinct in the male line, and their possessions to have centered in a female who was the lady of Francis Ferrand Foljambe, Esq.

[p] Mr. Pigott survived Colonel Hutchinson about five years. He was summoned to parliament by Cromwell, but it is very uncertain whether he condescended to sit or no. Thoroton, in his History of Notts, says of him that "he was a person of "great parts, natural and acquired: he was sheriff of the "county in 1669, and died presently after the summer assizes; "at which time being in mourning for his daughter Mary, "wife of Robert, eldest son of Sir Francis Burdett, of Formark, "he gave his attendants black liveries with silver trimmings,

merpoole, a man of good extraction, but reduc'd to a small fortune, had declin'd all the splendor of an old house, and sunke into the way of the middle men of the country; yet had a perfect honest heart to God, his country, and his friend; he had a good discretion, and though he were elder then all the rest, yet was so humble, to be content to come in the reare of them all, having through the declining of his famely, the slendernesse of his estate, and the parsimony of his nature, lesse interest in the country.[q] To yoake with him, there was a very honest man, who could not be reckon'd among the gentry, though he were call'd by the name of *Mr*. Lomax, he was in the strength and perfection of his age, a stout and an understanding man, plain and blunt, but withall godly, faithfull to his country, and honest to all men. There liv'd

---

" which served for his own funeral. His sobriety, ingenuity, " generosity, piety, and other virtues, few of his rank will ever " exceed, if any equal."

It is thought necessary to take more particular notice of what may appertain to Ireton, Colonel Thornhagh, and Mr. Pigott, because they are the three persons who enjoyed the greatest share in the friendship and esteem of Colonel Hutchinson, and made him a due return.

[q] The pedigree of the family of Widmerpoole in Thoroton, shews him to have been of very ancient and good descent; his ancestor represented the town of Nottingham in the reign of Edward the Third.

att Nottingham, a man call'd Mr. Salusbury, who had very good abillities with his pen, upon which he was taken in, to be their secretary, but he proov'd ambitious and froward, and being poore, when he was after made treasurer, fell into some temptation; but he carried at first a faire colour of religion and honesty. These were they, whom Mr. Hutchinson was first mated with, whose characters it was necessary thus farre to hint at, for the better carrying on of his story.

Sr. John Digby having notice that they had prevented him, by getting armes in their hands before, came not to Nottingham, where, now they had taken up the sword, it was not safe to lay it downe againe, and hold a naked throate to their enemie's whetted knives. Wherefore, upon the parliament's commission, for settling the militia, sometime before, there having bene three collonells nominated; viz. Sr. Francis Thornhagh, Sr. Francis Molineux, and Mr. Francis Pierrepont; they propounded to them to raise their regiments. Sr. Francis Molineux altogether declin'd, Sr. Francis Thornhagh appoynted his sonne for his lieftenant collonell, and he began to rayse a regiment of horse, with whom many of the honest men, that first listed themselves with Mr. George Hutchinson, became troopers. Mr. John Hutchinson and his brother were persuaded to be lieftenant collonell and maior, to Collonell Pierrepont's regiment of foote; and accordingly Mr. George Hutchinson had immediately a very good standing companie of foote, formed out of those townesmen, who first came in to list under him. Mr. John Hutchinson had a full companie of very honest godly men, who came for love of him and the cause, out of the country. It was six weekes before the collonell would be perswaded to put on a sword, or to list any men, which at length he did, of substantial honest townsmen, and Mr. Poulton, a nephew of Sr. Thomas Hutchinson, a stout young gentleman, who had seene some service abroad, was his captaine-lieftenant: there were two companies more rays'd, one under Captaine Lomax, and another under one Captaine Scrimpshire. The first thing these gentlemen did, was to call Captaine White with his dragoones, rays'd in Nottinghamshire, home to the service of his owne country, for Sr. John Gell, at Derby, had receiv'd from Hull a regiment of grey coates, who were at first sent downe from London, for the assistance of that place, when the king attempted it. They alsoe sent to the Earle of Essex, to desire that Captaine Ireton, with a troope of horse, which he had carried out of the country, into his excellencies army, might be commanded back, for the present service of his country, 'till it were put into a posture of defence, which accordingly he was, and was maior of the horse regiment. They sent alsoe to the parliament, and receiv'd from them a commission, with instructions, whereby they were impower'd to leavie forces and to rayse contributions, for the maintaining them, with all authority of seizing delinquents, sequestring, and the like. The committee appoynted were the parliament men that serv'd for the county, Mr. Francis Pierrepont, Mr. John Hutchinson, Mr. Francis Thornhagh, Mr. Gervas Pigott, Mr. Henry Ireton, Mr. George Hutchinson, Mr. Joseph Widmerpoole, Mr. Gervas Lomax, Dr. Plumtree, the maior of Nottingham, Mr. James Chadwick, and Mr. Thomas Salusbury. Then did neighbouring counties every where associate, for the mutuall assistance of each other; and the parliament commissionated maior-generalls, to command in chiefe, and give out commissions, to the severall commanders of the regiments. Nottinghamshire was put into the association with Leicestershire and other counties, whereof Lord Grey of Grooby, eldest sonne to the Earle of Stamford, was commander in chiefe, and from him the gentlemen of Nottingham tooke their first commissions.

The high sheriffe and the mallignant gentry, finding an opposition they expected not, writt a letter to Mr. Francis Pierrepont, and Mr. John Hutchinson, excusing the sheriffe's force, that he brought with him, and desiring a meeting with them, to consult for the peace of the country, security of their estates, and such like faire pretences; which letter was civilly answer'd them againe, and the treaty kept on foote some fourteen dayes, by letters sign'd by the Lord Chaworth, Sr. Thomas Williamson, Mr. Sutton, Sr. Gervas Eyre, Sr. John Digbie, Sr Roger Cooper, Mr. Palmer, Mr. John Millington: at length a meeting was appoynted, att a village in the country, on the forest side, where Mr. Sutton should have mett Mr. John Hutchinson. Mr. Hutchinson came to the place, but found not Mr. Sutton there, only the Lord Chaworth came in and call'd for sack, and treated Mr. Hutchinson very kindly; when Mr. Hutchinson, telling my lord he was come according to appoyntment, to conclude the treaty which had bene, betweene Nottingham and Newark, my lord told him, he knew nothing of it; whereupon, Mr. Hutchinson being inform'd that some of my Lord Newcastle's forces were to be in that towne that night, and that Mr. Sutton was gone to meete them, and conduct them into the country, return'd to Nottingham, where he receiv'd a kind of lame excuse from Mr. Sutton for his disappoynting of him, and for their bringing in strange souldiers into Newark, which they pretended was to save the towne from the plunder of some Lincolneshire forces: but Mr. Hutchinson, seeing all their treaties were but a snare for him, would no longer amuse himselfe about them; but being certainely inform'd, that Henderson who commanded the souldiers at Newark, if he were not himselfe a papist, had many Irish papists in his troopes, he, with the rest of the gentlemen, sent notice, to all the townes about Nottingham, desiring the well-affected to come in to their assistance, which the ministers pressing them to, upon Christmasse day 1642, many came in to them, and stay'd with them, 'till they had put themselves in some posture of defence.

Assoone as these strange souldiers were come into Newark, they presently began to block up and fortifie that towne, as on the other side, they att Nottingham began workes about that towne, but neither of them being yet strong enough to assault each other, contented themselves to stand upon their owne defence. The Earle of Chesterfield had rays'd some horse for the king, and was in the vale of Belvoir with them, where he had plunder'd some houses neere Mr. Hutchinson's; whereupon Mr. Hutchinson sent a troope of horse in the night, for they were not strong enough to march in the day, and fetcht away his wife and children to Nottingham.

The preservation of this towne was a speciall service to the parliament, being a considerable passe into the north, which, if the enemie had first possest themselves of, the parliament had bene cut of of all intercourse betweene the north and south, especially in the winter time, when the river Trent is not fordable, and only to be pass'd over by the bridges of Nottingham and Newark, and up higher at a place call'd Wilden Ferry, where the enemie alsoe had had a garrison.[r] The attempting to preserve this place, in the middst of so many potent enemies, was a work of no small difficulty, and nothing but an invincible courage, and a passionate zeale for the interest of God and his country, could have engag'd Mr. Hutchinson, who did not, through youthfull inconsideration and improvidence, want a foresight of those dangers and travailes he then undertook: he knewe well enough that the towne was more then halfe disaffected to the parliament, that had they bene all otherwise, they were not halfe enough to defend it against any unequall force, that they were farre from the parliament and their armies, and could not expect any timely reliefe or assistance from them, that he himselfe was the forlorne hope of those who were engag'd with him, and had then the best stake among them; that the gentlemen who were on horseback, when they could no longer defend their country, might at least save their lives, by a handsome retreate to the armie; but he must stand victorious, or fall, tying himselfe to an indefensible towne. Although his collonell might seeme to be in the same hazard, yet he was wise enough to content himselfe with the name, and leave Mr. Hutchinson to act all things, the glory of which, if they succeeded, he hoped to assume; if they fail'd, he thought he had a retreate; but Mr. Hutchinson, though he knew all this, yet was he so well perswaded in his conscience, of the cause, and of God's calling him to undertake the defence of it, that he cast by all other considerations, and cheerefully resign'd up his life, and all other particular interests, to God's dispose, though in all humane probability he was more like to loose then to save them.

---

[r] In the place of Wilden Ferry has been substituted in modern days a very beautiful bridge, called Cavendish Bridge, with a good and firm road of considerable length at each end to approach it: it is about midway on the high road between Loughborough and Derby. There is near to it a place called Sawley Ferry, little used, and hardly at all practicable in winter.

He and his brother were so suddenly call'd in to this worke, that they had not time beforehand to consult their father; but they sent to him to buy their armour and usefull swords, which he did, giving them no discouragement, but promoting all their desires to the parliament very effectually.[s]

By reason of the coldnesse of the collonell, the affaires of the warre at Nottingham went more tardily on then elce they would have done; but the gentlemen there, thinking it would be easier to prevent Newark, from being made a fortified garrison, then to take it when it was so, sent over to Lincolne and Derby, to propound the business to them. At length it was, about Candlemas, agreed and appoynted that the forces of Nottingham and Derby should come on their side of the towne, and those of Lincolne on the other. All the disaffected gentry of both those countries, were, at that time, gone into Newark, and one Ballard, a gentleman, who, decay'd in his famely, and owing his education to many of them, had bene bred up in the warres abroad, was commander in chiefe for the parliament in Lincolneshire. Much ado had the gentlemen of that county to engage him in the designe against Newark; but when he could not divert them, he was resolv'd to cast them away, rather then ruine his old benefactors. He had appoynted the forces of Nottingham and Derby to come to a rendevouz within a mile of Newark upon Saturday, upon which day, all the perswasions the Lincolneshire gentlemen could use, could not prevaile with him to march out, according to appoyntment; which those at Newark had notice of, and had prepar'd an ambuscade to have cutt of all those forces if they had then come to the place; but by providence of an extraordinary stormie season, they marcht not 'till the next day, and so were preserv'd from that danger, which no doubt was treacherously contriv'd. Assoone as they came, who were about a thousand horse, foote, and dragoones, the Lincolneshire commanders inform'd our's of the sloth and untoward carriage of Ballard, and told them how that day, he had play'd his ordinance, at a mile's distance from the towne, and how, when the Newark horse came out to face them upon the Beacon Hill, he would not suffer a man of the Lincolneshire troopes to fall upon them, though the Lincolne horse were many more in number then they, and in all probabillity might have beaten them. The next day, notwithstanding Mr. Hutchinson went to him, to give him an account of the forces they had brought, and, to receive orders, he could have none, but a carelesse answer to stand at such a side of the towne and fall on as they saw occasion. Accordingly they did, and beate the enemie from their workes, with the losse of only four or five men, and entrencht themselves; when the night comming on upon them, they provided straw to have lodg'd in their trenches, all the night. On the other side of the towne, Captaine King of Lincolneshire had taken a streete, cut up a chaine, and placed a [t] drake in a house; whereupon the Newark gentlemen were allmost resolv'd to yield up the towne, and some of them began to flie out of it, but Ballard would not suffer the horse to persue them, only one captaine went out without his leave and tooke fifty horses, and turn'd back Mr. Sutton and many others that were flying out of the towne. At length, when he could no otherway preserve his olde patrones, but by betraying his friends, he order'd Captaine King to retreate; whereupon the whole force of Newark fell upon the forces of Nottingham and Derby, in their trenches, where they fought very resolutely, 'till a Lincolneshire trooper came and bade them flie for their lives, for elce they were all lost men. At this two hundred Lincolneshire men, whom Ballard with much entreaty had sent to relieve them, first ran away, and then Sr. John Gell's grey coates made their retreate after them; Maior Hutchinson and Capt. White, all this while, kept their trenches, and commanded their Nottingham men not to stirre, who accordingly shott there, till all their pouder was spent. The lieftenant-collonell in vaine importun'd Ballard to send them ammunition and reliefe, but could obteine neither, and so they were forc'd, unwillingly, to retreate, which they did in so good order, the men first, and then their captaines, that they lost not a man in comming of. The towne was sallying upon them, but they discharg'd a drake and beate them back. The next day all the Captaines importun'd Ballard they might fall on again, but he would neither consent nor give any reason of his deniall, so that the Nottingham forces return'd with greate dissatisfaction, though Ballard, to stop their mouths, gave them two pieces of ordnance.

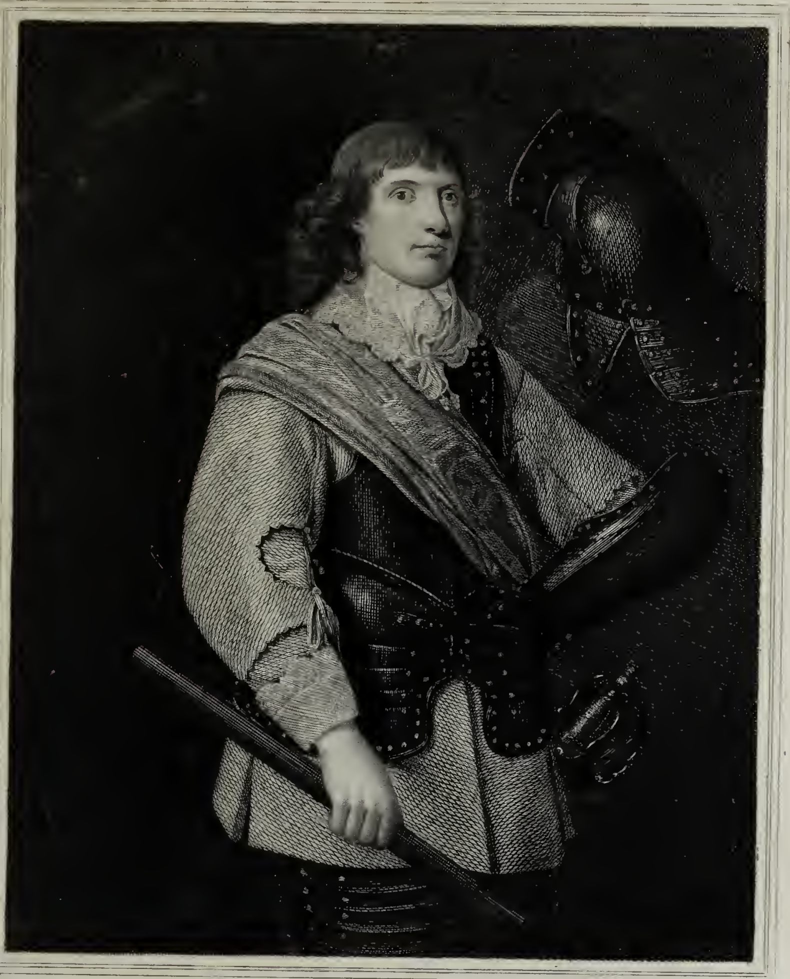
---

[s] The reader is desired to bear this in mind, as it tends much to invalidate the credibility of an assertion made by the stepmother of these gentlemen, which will be noticed in its proper place. It is said, in a note by Julius Hutchinson, Esq. that Sir Thomas Hutchinson bought his two sons armour, though he knew not of their accepting commissions against the king. What was the armour for? Was it to serve the king against the parliament?

---

[t] Drake, a piece of cannon so called.

It being necessary to carrie on the maine story, for the better understanding the motion of those lesser wheeles that moov'd within the greate orbe, I shall but name in what posture things were abroad in the kingdome, while these affaires I relate were transacted at Nottingham. After the retreate from Brainford fight, a treaty was ineffectually carried on betweene the king and parliament from the 31st of January 1642, to the 17th of Aprill 1643, after which my Lord of Essex marched to Reading, where the king had a garrison, and besieg'd it. The king's horse came to relieve it, and had an encounter with my lord's armie, wherein many gentlemen of quallity fell on the king's side, the king himselfe being in a place where he saw them. In a few dayes after Reading was yielded upon composition to the Earle of Essex, whose souldiers having bene promis'd their pay and a gratuity to spare the plunder of the towne, fell into a mutiny upon the failing of the performance, and many of them disbanded. Among those who remain'd there was a greate mortality, occasioned by the infected ayre in the towne of Reading; in so much that my lord was forc'd to returne and quarter his sick and weake armie about Kingston and those townes neere London. And now were all the countryes in England noe longer idle spectators, but severall stages, whereon the tragedie of the civill warre was acted, except the easterne association, where Mr. Oliver Cromwell, by his diligence, prevented the designes of the royall party, which were so successful the first yeare in all other places, that the parliament's condition appear'd so desperate, as many of their members, of both houses, ran away to Oxford to the king, and others sate among them conspiring against them. One plott, conducted by Mr. Waller, and carried on among many disaffected persons, in the citie, was neere taking effect, to the utter subversion of the parliament and people; but that God, by his providence, brought it timely to light, and the authors were condemn'd, and some of them executed; but Waller, for being more a knave then the rest, and peaching his complices, was permitted to buy his life for ten thousand pounds. This summer all the west was reduc'd by the king, the Earle of Stamford yielding up Exeter, and Collonell Fiennes Bristoll. Sir William Waller had lost all his armie, which had been victorious in many encounters. The king was master of all or most part of Wales, and the parliament had no armie left in the field, soe that had he taken the opertunity to have gone immediately to London, that summer, he had accomplisht his designe: but being denied the towne of Gloucester, and taking it in disdaine, that that towne, in the heart of the land,



Engraved by A. Dean.

FORTEM POSCE ANIMUM

Nath: ffiennes

From the original Picture
Broughton Castle, Oxon in the possession of
The Rt. Hon.ble Lord Saye & Sele.

Member of Parliament for
Banbury. 1640.

London Published by John Murray 183[illegible]

1-220

should make a resistance when the greater cities were yielded to him, he stopp'd his course to take in that place, where he stay'd to turn the tide of his good fortune, as his generall, my Lord of Newcastle, did, at the siege of Hull.[u] My Lord Newcastle was generall of the north, and master of all the strong places, to the very borders of Scotland, and formidable to all the neighbouring counties. Only the Lord Fairfax, with his sonne Sr. Thomas, headed all the religious, honest Englishmen, they could rayse, in those parts, and with a far inferior force, kept him in play, and in severall skirmishes came of [x] conquerors. But as the fortune of the parliament declin'd in other places, so those who had not principles strong enough to hold them fast to a iust, though falling cause, sought early to secure their lives by treasons, which destroy'd them. The Earle of Newcastle's armie was iudg'd to be about eight thousand, horse and foote, my Lord Fairfax had not above two thousand one hundred foote, and seven troopes of horse. After this there was a greate accession of strength to my Lord Newcastle, by the coming, first of the Lord Goring, with many old commanders; then of Generall King, with six thousand arms, from beyond the seas; then of the Queene herselfe, who, in February 1642, landed neere Sunderland, comming out of Holland, with large provi-

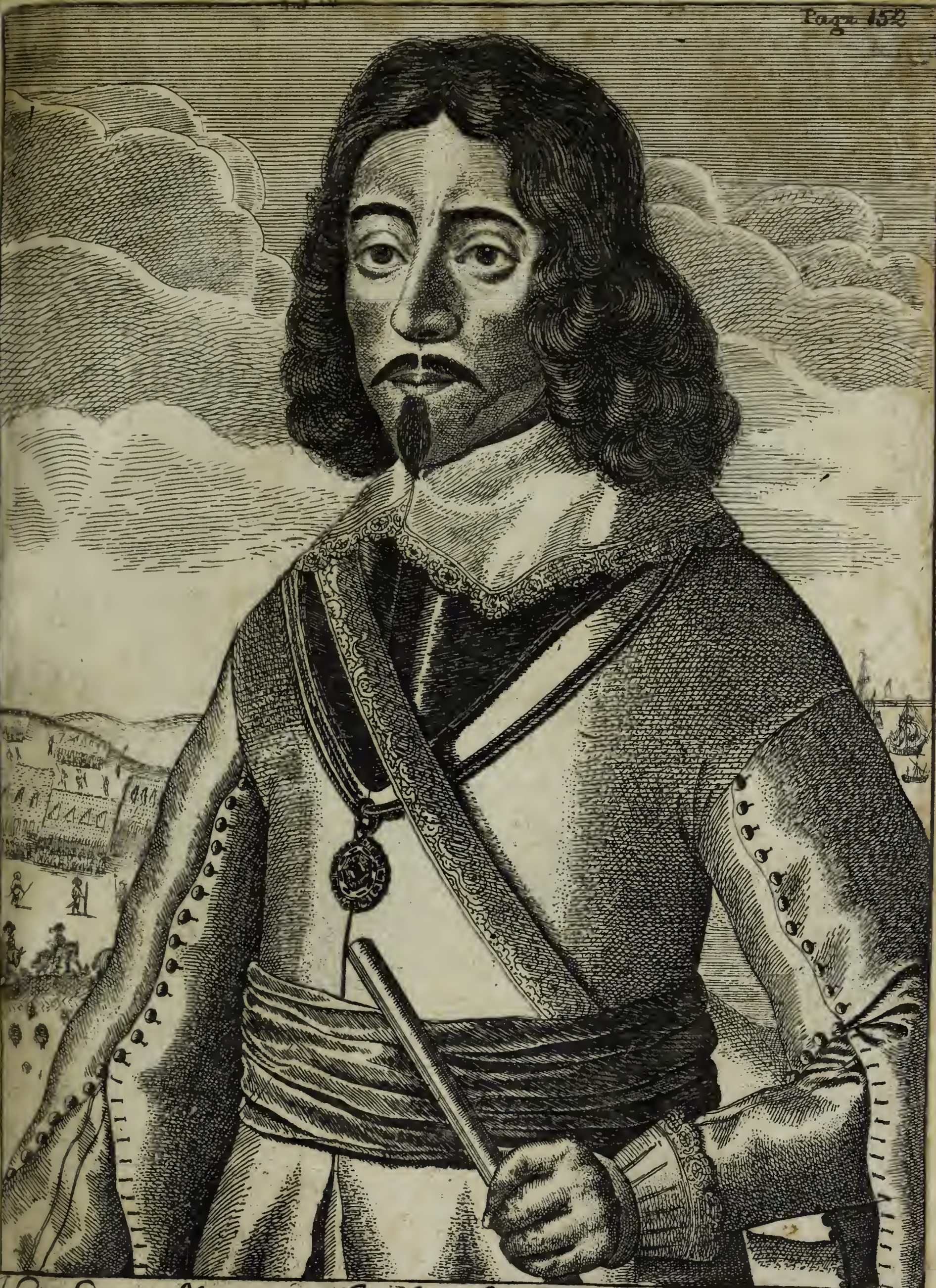
---

[u] The impolicy of this measure is more fully noticed and explained, and the cause of it set down by Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs, p. 260. "One or the like councell in "both quarters, north and west, blasted the prosperity in "each place, for the king pitcht upon that fatall resolution, "recommended to him by Lord Culpeper, of besieging Glo"cester, thinking it a good policy not to leave a strong towne "behind him: but the councell proved fatall, for had the "king at that time resolv'd in himself to have struck at the "proud head of London, and had had authority enough at that "time to have required the Earl of Newcastle to have joined "with him; humanely speaking, he had raised such confusion "among the two houses and the Londoners, that they had "either sent him his own termes, or if they had fought him "most probably he had been victorious. But the king fixes "on Glocester and the Earl of Newcastle on Hull, upon the "advice of his Lieut. General King, who was suspected."

A few pages further he reckons among the king's misfortunes the Earl of Newcastle's too much affecting independency, which may serve to account for some other matters which will occur; but it is here natural to observe, that the king having, by separating himself from his parliament, lost his acknowledged and unquestionable authority, he retained only a very precarious one over the different chiefs of his party: which, on many occasions, turned to the disadvantage of his cause. After all, it is no way certain that his march to London woul have been so effectual and so little opposed, as it is here taken for granted it would have been.

---

[x] In fact, the resistance so long maintained, and frequently with such success, by Lord Fairfax and his sons against so superior a force, has been always thought next to miraculous, and marked out Sir Thomas as the fittest man in the kingdom to command the forces and fix the fortunes of the parliament.



His Excellencie the Lord Fairfax, Generall of
the forces raiſed by the Parliament
תמו פרא פקח
In English, His Integrity hath broken the wilde Aſs .

sions of arms, ammunition, and commanders of note, with which she was convoy'd by the Earle of Newcastle, to Yorke, and thither came to her the Earle of Montrose, out of Scotland, with a hundred and twenty horse: then Sr. Hugh Cholmly, governor of Scarborough, revolted from the parliament, whereof he was a member, and came to the queene with three hundred men. Browne Bushell alsoe, who was left in charge with the towne, yielded it up. Then had the queene's practises wrought so upon the two Hothams, that their treason was not all together undiscerned; but my lord Fairfax, having only strong presumptions, and no power to secure them, while they had the strong towne of Hull in their hands, it was all he could doe to be vigilant and silent, till God should give opertunity to secure that great danger. My Lord of Newcastle had given the papists in the north commissions to arme in the king's defence, [y], and now the queene was preparing to march up, with the assistance she had gotten to the king. Those countries through which she was to passe, could not but be sensible of their danger, especially the gentlemen at Nottingham, who were but a few young men, environ'd with garrisons of the enemie, and scarcely firme among themselves, and hopeless of reliefe from above, where the parliament, strugling for life, had not leizure to bind up a cutt-finger. But God was with them in these difficulties, and gave an unexpected issue.

---

[y] The king pretended never to do this himself; but the Earl of Newcastle did it, as most people would in his place, and avowed it as became him. Sir Philip Warwick recites a witticism of his on the occasion of his going to see him at the siege of Hull, whereh is men being very badly entrenched, he said to Sir Philip, who remarked it, "You hear us often "called the Popish Army, but you see we trust not in our "*good works.*"

The Earle of Kingston a few months stood neuter, and would not declare himselfe of either party, and being a man of greate wealth and dependancies, many people hung in suspence, by his example; whereupon the gentlemen of Nottingham often spoke to his sonne, to perswade his father to declare himselfe: but he told them, he knew his father's affections were firme to the parliament, that he had encourag'd him to ioin with them, and promis'd him money to carrie it on, and such like things, which he continually assur'd them, till the collonell's cold behaviour, and some other passages, made them at length, those at least who were firme to the cause, iealous both of the father and the sonne. Hereupon when the danger grew more imminent, and my lord lay out a brave prey to the enemie, they sent Captaine Lomax, one of the committee, to understand his affections from himselfe, and to presse him to declare for the parliament, in that so needfull season. My lord professing himselfe to him rather desirous of peace, and fully resolv'd not to act on either side, made a serious imprecation on himselfe in these words: "When," said he, "I take armies with the king against the parliament, or with the parliament against the king, let a cannon bullett devide me betweene them;" which God was pleas'd to bring to passe a few months after: for he, going into Gainsborough, and there taking up armes for the king, was surpriz'd by my lord Willoughby, and, after a handsome defence of himselfe, yielded, and was put prisoner into a pinnace, and sent downe the river to Hull, when my lord Newcastle's armie marching allong the shore, shot at the pinnace, and being in danger, the Earle of Kingston went up upon the decks to shew himselfe, and to prevaile with them to forbeare shooting[z], but assoone as he appear'd a cannon bullett flew from the king's armie and devided him in the middle, being then in the parliament's pinnace, who perished according to his owne unhappie imprecation. His declaring himselfe for the king, as it enforced the royall, so it weak'ned the other party.

---

[z] This is a most singular story, and no doubt peculiarly gratifying to a fatalist to recite; it is however assuredly true, being mentioned by several historians, with only the difference of his being said to be under, instead of on, the deck; the latter of which is far the most probable.

Sir Richard Biron was come to be governor of Newark. A house of my lord Chaworth's in the vale was fortified, and some horse putt into it, and another house of the Earle of Chesterfield's, both of them within a few miles of Nottingham.[a] Ashby de la Zouch, within eight miles of Nottingham, on the other side, was kept by Mr. Hastings. On the forrest side of the country, the Earle of Newcastle's house had a garrison in it, and another castle of his, within a mile, was garrison'd. Sr. Roger Cooper's house, at Thurgaton, was alsoe kept; so that Nottingham, thus beleagur'd with enemies, seem'd very unlikely to be able either to resist the enemie or support itselfe.[b] Therefore the gentlemen, upon the newes of my lord Newcastle's intended approach that way, sent up Mr. John Hutchinson to acquaint the parliament with their condition, who so negociated their businesse that he procur'd an order for Coll. Cromwell, Coll. Hubbard, my lord Grey, and Sr. John Gell, to unite their forces, and rendezvous at Nottingham, to prevent the queene from ioining with the king, and to guard those parts against the cavaliers. Accordingly, in the Whitsun holidays, 1643, they all came, and the younger Hotham alsoe brought some more rude troopes out of Yorkshire, and ioined himselfe to them, The forces now united at Nottingham were about five or six thousand, my lord Grey being their commander in chiefe. Upon the urgency of the gentlemen at Nottingham, he drew them out against Wiverton-house in the vale, but upon a groundlesse apprehension quitted it, when they might in all probabillity have taken it, and retreated to Nottingham, where, two or three days after, the enemie's horse faced them, but they would not be prevailed with to goe out, though they were not inferior to them. Young Hotham, at that time, carried on a private treaty with the queene, and every day receiv'd and sent trumpetts, of which he would give no account. Then was Nottingham more sadly distrest by their friends then by their enemies; for Hotham's and Gell's men not only lay upon free quarter, as all the rest did, but made such havock and plunder of friend and foe, that 'twas a sad thing for any one that had a generous heart to behold it. When the committee offer'd Hotham to assigne him quarters for his men, because they were better acquainted with the country, he would tell them he was no stranger in any English ground. He had a greate deale of wicked witt, and would make sport with the miseries of the poore country, and, having treason in his heart, licens'd his souldiers, which were the scumme of mankind, to all villanies in the country that might make their partie odious. Mr. Hutchinson was much vext to see the country wasted, and that little part of it which they could only hope to have contribution from, eaten up by a company of men who, insteed of relieving them, devour'd them, and Hotham's souldiers, having taken away goods from some honest men, he went to him to desire restitution of them, and that he would restraine his souldiers from plunder; whereupon Hotham replied, "he fought for "liberty, and expected it in all things." Replies follow'd, and they grew to high language; Hotham bidding him, if he found himselfe griev'd, to complaine to the parliament. Mr. Hutchinson was passionately concern'd, and this being in the open field, Coll. Cromwell, who had likewise had greate provocations from him, began to shew himselfe affected with the countrie's injuries, and the idle wast of such a considerable force, through the unexperience of the chiefe commander, and the disobedience and irregularities of the others; so they, at that time, being equally zealous for the publick service, advis'd together to seeke a remedie, and dispatcht away a post to London, who had no greater ioy in the world then such employments as tended to the displacing of greate persons, whether they deserv'd it or not; him they sent away immediately from the place to informe the parliament of Hotham's carriages, and the strong presumptions they had of his treachery, and the ill management of their forces. This they two did, without the privity of any of the other gentlemen or commanders, some of which were little lesse suspected themselves, and others, as my lord Grey, through credulous good nature, too greate a favourer of Hotham. The messenger was very diligent in his charge, and return'd assoone as it was possible with a committment of Hotham, who accordingly was then made prisoner in Nottingham-castle, and Sr. John Meldrum was sent downe to be commander in chiefe of all those united forces. When they marcht away, a troope of my lord Grey's having the charge of guarding Hotham towards London, suffer'd him to escape, and thereby putt the towne of Hull into a greate hazard;

---

[a] Wiverton-house and Shelford manor.

[b] In a letter to the king, the queen writes from Newark that "all the force the parliament had in those parts was only one thousand men in Nottingham."

but that the father and sonne were there unexpectedly surpriz'd, sent up prisoners to London, and after some time executed. Those who knew the opinion Cromwell after had of Mr. Hutchinson, believ'd he registered this businesse in his mind as long as he liv'd, and made it his care to prevent him from being in any power or capacity to pursue him to the same punishment, when he deserv'd it; but from that time, growing into more intimate acquaintance with him, he allways us'd to profess the most hearty affections to him, and the greatest delight in his plainnesse and open-heartednesse that was imaginable.[c]

---

[c] Those who consider and represent Cromwell as a prodigy, not only of treachery, design, ambition, and artifice, but likewise of sagacity and foreknowledge, will deem this a proof of his having thus early conceived his scheme of aggrandizement; but to those who are better satisfied with the probable than the marvellous it will seem to prove no such thing; they must well know that if he had so soon any great views, they must have been very distant and indistinct; they will find here only the first of a long series of instances, wherein will be seen the quick and clear discernment, the strong and well-poised judgment, the promptitude and firmness of decision, which enabled him to seize and convert to his advantage every opportunity that presented itself, and even the actions, thoughts, and inclinations, of other men; and they will see united to these such a command over his own thoughts and passions as permitted exactly so much, and no more of them than was convenient, to appear: these qualities, though less astonishing than the prescience and almost the power of

Assoone as Sr. John Meldrum came downe to his charge at Nottingham the queen's forces came and faced the towne, whereupon the cannon discharging upon them, the Duke of Vendosme's sonne and some few others were slaine. The parliament horse drew out of Nottingham to receive the queene's, but they came not on, after this execution of the cannon, for in the mean time the queene was passing by, and although the parliament horse pursued them, yet would not they engage, for it was not their businesse; so when they saw they had lost their designe, the horse return'd againe to Nottingham, where the foote had stay'd all the while they were out. When the Earle of Kingston declar'd himselfe for the king he rays'd what forces

---

creating events, which is attributed to him, would and did equally well answer the purpose of his progression; which he effected in such a manner as to fill with the greatest propriety all the intermediate situations through which he passed, to take as it were a firm footing at each gradation, and to arrive at the pinnacle of power without having once run any considerable risk of an overthrow in his career. Such rational observers will likewise see here, what will in the sequel still more strikingly appear, that if he must be called a traitor, he was not of that paltry treachery which sacrifices a man's party to self; he was steadily bent on procuring the triumph of his own party over their opponents, but too covetous of commanding his party himself. It may be thought there wanted but little, perhaps only the survivance of Ireton, to have made Cromwell intrinsically as well as splendidly great.

he could and went into Gainsborough, a towne in Lincolneshire, scituate upon the river of Trent. There, before he was fortified, my lord Willoughby, of Parham, surpriz'd the towne and all his souldiers, who disputed it as long as they could, but being conquer'd, were forc'd to yield, and the earle himselfe retreated into the strongest house, which he kept till it was all on flame round him, and then giving himselfe up only to my lord Willoughby, he was immediately sent prisoner to Hull, and shott according to his owne imprecation. Immediately part of my lord Newcastle's armie, with all that Newark could make, besieg'd my lord Willoughby in Gainsborough, and Generall Essex sent a command to Sr. John Meldrum to draw all the horse and foote he could out of Nottingham, to relieve my lord, leaving only a garrison in the castle of Nottingham. Sr. John Meldrum call'd the committee of Nottingham together, to consult what was to be done for the settlement of the place, which upon deliberation he had iudg'd not fitt to leave in the hands it was, nor in Coll. Pierrepont's, who, with some apparence, lay under suspition at that time; and therefore conceiving Mr. Hutchinson the most able to manage, and the most responsible for it, both Sr. John and the whole committee order'd him to take the castle into his charge, which, though there were many causes why he should decline, yet believing that God hereby call'd him to the defence of his country, and would protect him in all the dangers and difficulties he led him into, he accepted it, and the 29 June, 1643, receiv'd an order for that government from Sr. John Meldrum and the whole committee; whereunto Collonell Pierrepont subscrib'd, though with a secret discontent in his heart, not for any ill opinion or ill affection he had to Mr. Hutchinson's person, but for that he resented it as a greate affront that himselfe was past by. It is true that this discontent produc'd some envious and malitious practises, secretly in him, against Mr. Hutchinson, who in the end overcame him with so many good offices, in requital of his bad ones, that he lived and died full of love, and acknowledgment of kindnesse to him.

The castle was built upon a rock, and nature had made it capable of very strong fortification, but the buildings were very ruinous and unhabitable, neither affording roome to lodge souldiers nor provisions. The castle stands at one end of the towne upon such an eminence as commands the chiefe streets of the towne. There had bene enlargements made to this castle after the first building of it.[d] There was a strong tower, which they call'd the old tower, built upon the top of all the rock, and this was that place where Queene Isabell, the mother of King Edward the Third, was surpriz'd with her paramour Mortimer, who by secret windings and hollows in the rock came up into her chamber from the meadows lying low under it, through which there ranne a little rivolett, call'd the Line, almost under the castle rock. At the entrance of this rock there was a spring, which was call'd Mortimer's Well, and the caverne Mortimer's Hole: the ascent to the top is very high, and not without some wonder at the top of all the rock there is a spring of water; in the midway to the top of this tower there is a little piece of the rock, on which a dove-coate had bene built, but the governor tooke downe the roofe of it, and made it a platforme for two or three pieces of ordinance, which commanded some streetes and all the meadowes better then the higher tower; under that tower, which was the old castle, there was a larger castle, where there

---

[d] Though this description be a good and a just one, it may nevertheless be acceptable to many readers to see a perspective view of the castle and town of Nottingham, which will enable them to judge of the strength and importance of the latter.

T. Hine Delᵗ

NOTTINGHAM CASTLE IN

Published by G. S

J. Bache Sculpt.

HE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

ns Nottingham.

NORTH-EAST VIEW OF NOTTINGHAM CASTLE,

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

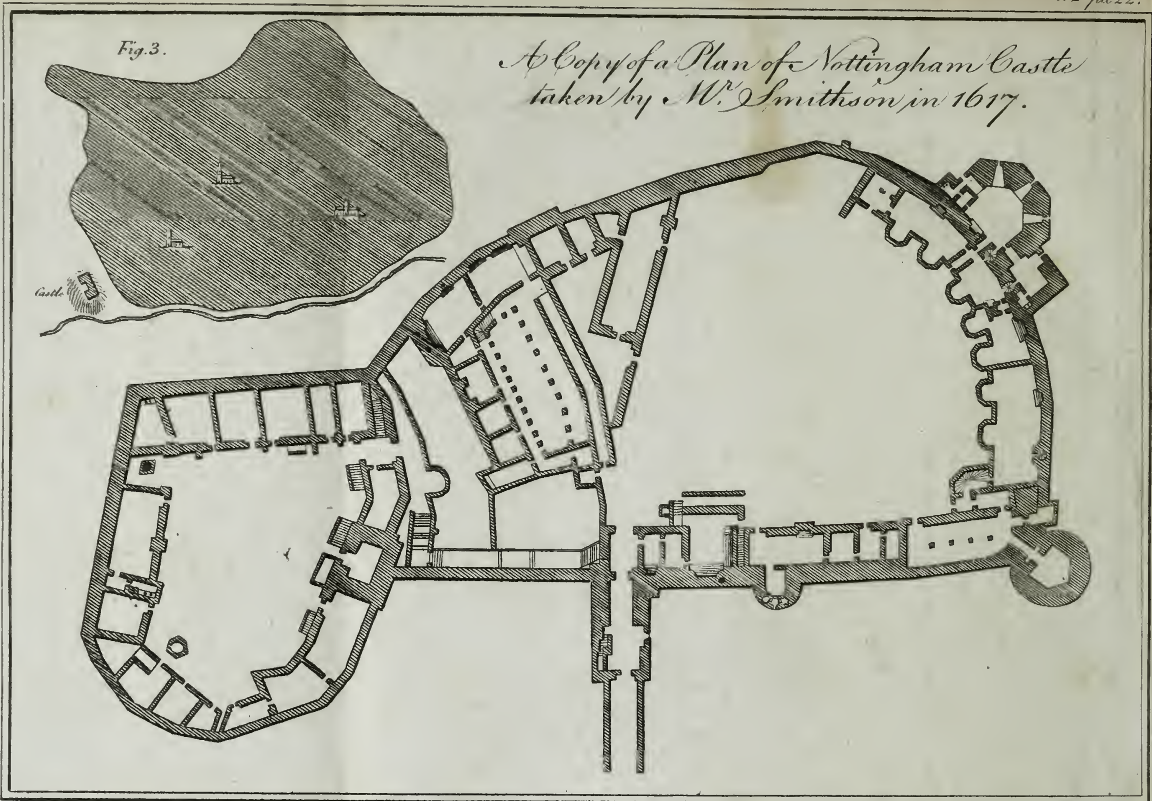
It has long been a source of regret to all who profess any partiality for the remains of antiquity, but more particularly to those interested in the historical records of Nottingham, that there was no document or drawing extant from which a correct representation of the Castle, as it stood in the proud days of its strength and magnificence, could be obtained. Such regret is now obviated, as the accompanying engraving is a true delineation of that once splendid structure; but as there might be some, whose minds would be sceptical upon this point, it has been thought necessary, to publish a few remarks, in order to substantiate the correctness of the design, and also to explain, as much as requisite, the nature of the materials from which the drawing was constructed.

The Publisher has in his possession a bird's eye view of Nottingham Castle, taken in the year 1610, and to be satisfied of the accuracy of the sketch, he caused a careful and minute survey to be made of the existing ruins, and comparing these with the ichnographic plan of Mr. Smithson, executed in 1617, the three were found to agree in every particular. As a more convincing proof, the writings of all the best historians who have treated upon the subject, have been consulted; amongst others may be mentioned, Leland, Speed, Dugdale, Thoroton, and Deering. Of these Leland has been most circumstantial in his details respecting the Castle; in speaking of some portions of it, he says, "the bass court is large and mighty strong, and there is a stately bridge (with pillars bearing beasts and giants) over the ditch into the second ward, the front of which at the entrance is exceedingly strong with towers and port-cullices. Within is a fair green court, fit for any princely exercise. The south-east parts of the Castle are strong and well towered, within the old tower there is another court, though somewhat less than the last mentioned, in the the midst whereof is a stair case of stone, about six or seven feet above the ground, in which there is a door to enter and steps to lead (of late much worn) through the main rock to the foot thereof, and the bank of the river Leen; by this passage (the keeper says) Edward the Third's band came up through the rock and took Earl Mortimer prisoner. The dungeon or prison is by the south and east, and is extraordinary strong et natura loci et opera. In the first court we go down many steps with a candle lighted into a vault under ground, and rooms cut and made out of the very stone, in the walls whereof the story of Christ's Passion and other things, are engraven by David, king of Scotland, (as they say) who was kept prisoner there."

Independent however of the written testimony here set down, those who are dubious of the exactness of the view may be convinced by ocular demonstration, how far it is in accordance with various remnants of the ancient Castle that have yet withstood the mouldering hand of time. These remains are, what is usually termed the Castle Lodge, a considerable portion of the south eastern wall with two bastions, one situated near the Riding School, and the other in the vicinity of Brewhouse Yard; further south a continution of the wall and another bastion, and also the ruins of Richard the Third's tower, a little to the north of the present edifice.

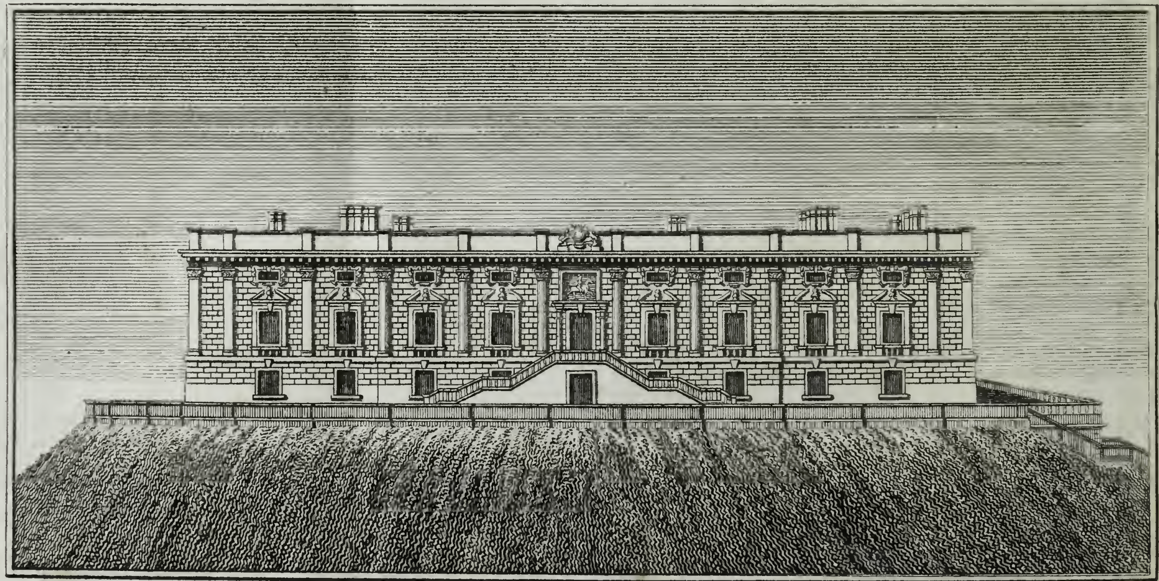
Besides these there are other antiquities, which upon careful investigation will be found entirely to coincide with the plan of the engraving; and this the Publisher hopes, will be sufficient to prove that it is not a spurious production, emanating from the imiginative fancy of the artist, but a Bona Fide representation of NOTTINGHAM CASTLE, as it appeared in the latter part of the Sixteenth Century.

G. SIMONS, PRINTER, CHAPEL-BAR, NOTTINGHAM.



A Copy of a Plan of Nottingham Castle taken by Mr. Smithson in 1617.

A View of the Front of Nottingham Castle.



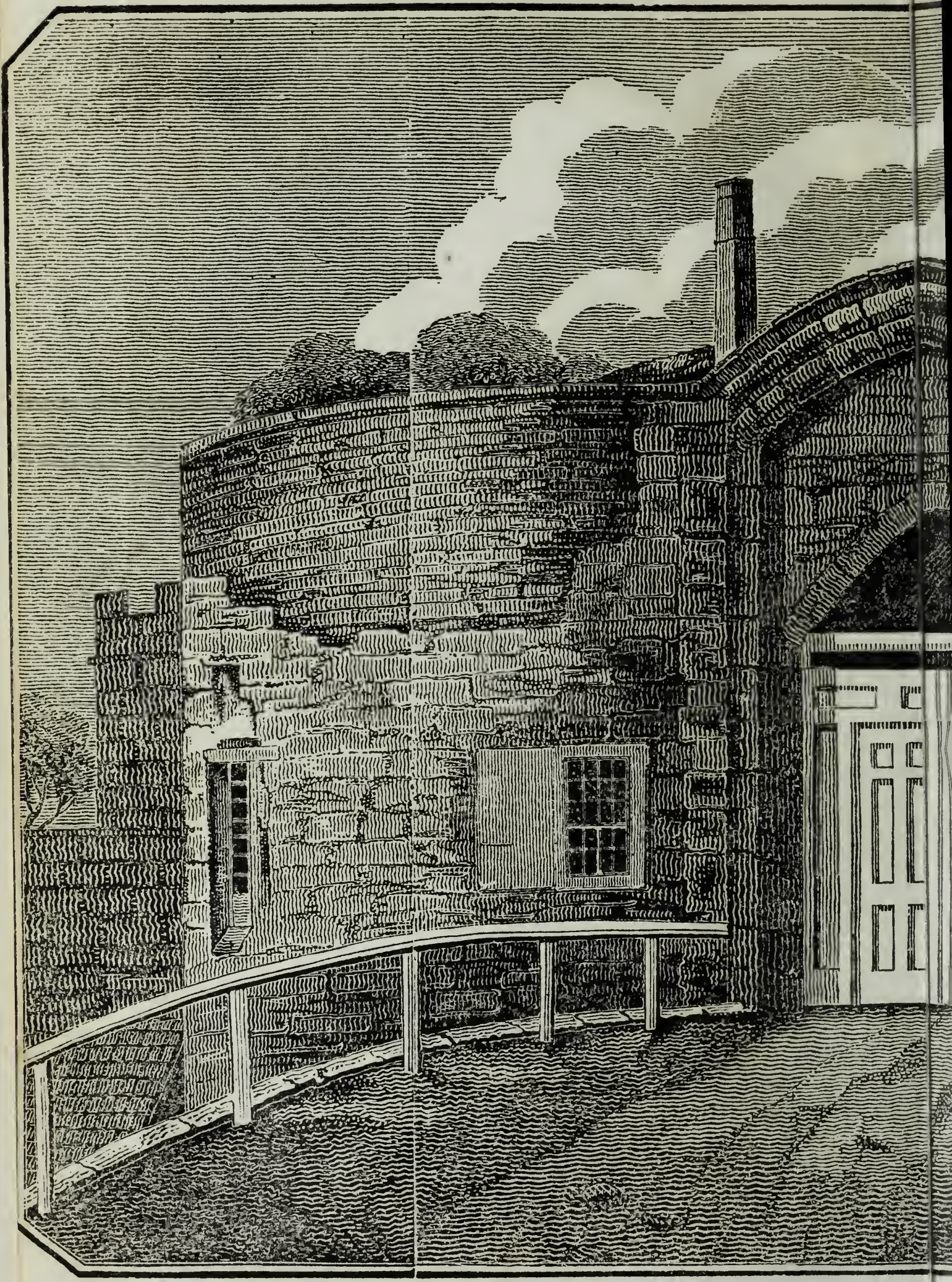
J. Wigley Sc.

9 Octob. 1831 -

The riots at Nottingham commenced on Sunday morning, and are said to have been in some degree provoked by the criminal imprudence of a violent anti-reformer, who hissed a knot of people, in consequence of which they broke some of his windows, and threatened to visit him again in the evening. The crowd accumulated in the evening, and then broke the windows of various other persons who had signed the anti-reform petition. The soldiers were under arms all night, notwithstanding which considerable damage was done to property in various parts of the town. On Monday morning, a public meeting to address the king was announced to take place. Upwards of 15,000 persons are stated to have attended it. Lord Rancliffe, Colonel Wildman, and several other persons of consideration, addressed the assembly; and all the speakers fervently exhorted the people to refrain from violence and outrage. Notwithstanding this, about four o'clock in the afternoon, a mob, asserted to have consisted of some thousands of persons, proceeded to the mansion of John Musters, Esq., (who married the lovely Miss Chaworth, so much admired by the late Lord Byron) at Colwick Hall, about two miles off, and broke and destroyed every thing in the house, such as furniture, books, glass, and then attempted to set it on fire in several places, but happily this was prevented by the exertions of the servants. The whole of the family title deeds, it is said, fell a sacrifice to the fury of the multitude; the iron chest was forced, and its contents literally torn to atoms. While this work of destruction was going on at Colwick, another party had proceeded to the forest, and destroyed the windmill of Mr. Sharpe; the building was thrown down, and the flour strewed upon the ground. About half-past six in the afternoon, the town was thrown into a state of confusion by the alarm-bell ringing at the house of correction, an attempt being then made to force the prison, and let out the prisoners; but this was happily frustrated by the timely arrival of the military, not however till a hole had been made in the door of the prison by a large hammer. But public attention was soon drawn from this scene by the cry of "The Castle is on fire!" which was found to be too true. The castle gates were forced about half-past seven, and, before eight, every room in that extensive building was on fire. To attempt to save this fine structure, which hitherto had been an ornament to the town, was impossible. From the elevated situation of the burning mass, it could be seen from almost every part of the town: it was fortunately uninhabited. It is the property of the Duke of Newcastle. There is nothing left but the bare walls; the floors and beams of the building were all consumed. On Tuesday the lawless multitude proceeded to the extensive silk mill of Mr. Lowe, situated at Beeston, about three miles off, and set it on fire, and all the valuable stock of silks and the extensive machinery fell a sacrifice to the devouring flames. The yeomanry were called out, and sent off to Beeston, along with a party of the 15th, and 16 prisoners were brought to the county gaol for examination before the magistrates. Thus an incalculable injury has been entailed on the neighbourhood, and between two and three hundred hands (probably most of them reformers), have been thrown out of employment, just in the face of winter, to gratify the maniac party feeling of a malignant mob.

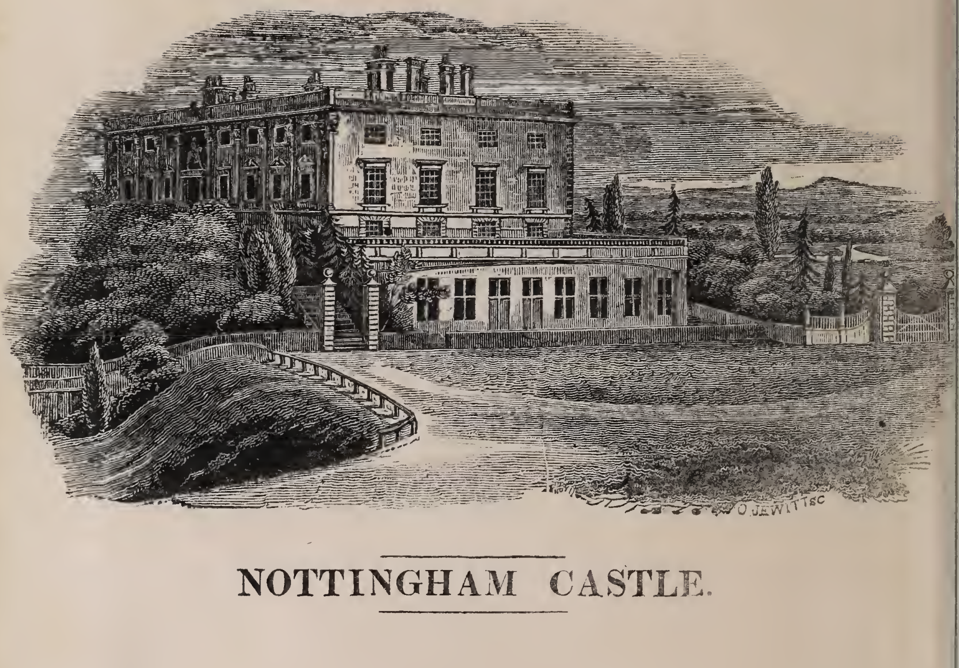
When the 15th hussars were escorting the sixteen prisoners to the county gaol, a man went up to the officer in command, and struck him while on horseback. The officer immediately drew his pistol and shot him in the forehead. The man was taken to a surgeon immediately, and the ball extracted: he was afterwards taken to the infirmary; and is expected to recover. A boy (ten years old) was found on Tuesday morning burned to death in the ruins of the castle. It is supposed he had been looking for lead, and that some part of the staircase had fallen on him.—On Wednesday and Thursday the town was peaceable; and we hope public order will not again be interrupted.

At Loughborough some excesses have been committed; but we believe they were not very serious.



THE CAST

E LODGE.



NOTTINGHAM CASTLE.

had bene several towers and many noble roomes, but the most of them were downe; the yard of that was pretty large, and without the gate there was a very large yard that had bene wall'd, but the walls were all downe, only it was scituated upon an ascent of the rock, and so stood a pretty heighth above the streetes; and there were the ruins of an old paire of gates, with turrets on each side.

Before the castle, the towne was on one side of a close, which commanded the fields approaching the towne; which close the governor afterwards made a platforme; behind it was a place called the Park, that belong'd to the castle, but then had neither deere nor trees in it, except one, growing under the castle, which was almost a prodigee, for from the root to the top, there was not one straight twig or branch of it; some say'd it was planted by King Richard the Third, and resembled him that sett it. On the other side the castle, was the little river of Line, and beyond that, large flat meadowes, bounded by the river of Trent. In the whole rock there were many large caverns, where a greate magazine and many hundred souldiers might nave bene dispos'd, if they had bene cleans'd and prepar'd for it, and might have bene kept secure from any danger of firing the magazines by any morter-pieces shott against the castle. In one of these places, it is reported, that one David, a Scotch king, was kept in cruell durance, and with his nayles, had scratcht on the wall the story of Christ and his twelve apostles. The castle was not flanker'd, and there were no workes about it, when Mr. Hutchinson undertooke it, but only a little brestworke, before the outmost gate. It was as ill provided, as fortified, there being but ten barrels of pouder, eleven hundred and fifty pounds of butter, and as much cheese, eleven quarter of bread corne, seven beeves, two hundred and fourteen flitches of bacon, five hundred and sixty fishes, and fifteen hogsheads of beere. Assoone as the governor receiv'd his charge, he made proclamation in the towne, that whatsoever honest persons desir'd to secure themselves or their goods in the castle, should have reception there, if they would repaire their quarters, which divers well affected men accepting, it was presently made capable of receiving 400 men commodiously.

In the beginning of July 1643, Sr. John Meldrum, with all the force that quarter'd in Nottingham, marcht forth to the reliefe of Gainsborough, leaving the towne to be guarded by few more then the very townsmen. There had bene large workes made about it, which would have requir'd at least three thousand men to man them and defend them well, and upon these workes there were about fourteen gunns, which the governor, when the forces were marching away, before they went, drew up to the castle; whereupon the townsmen, especially those that were ill-affected to the parliament, made a greate mutiny, threat'ning they would pull the castle downe, but they would have their ordinance againe upon their workes, and wishing it on fire and not one stone upon another. Hereupon the governor sent Alderman Drury, with 14 more, that were heads of this mutiny, prisoners to Derby, whither Maior Ireton convoy'd them with his troope. The reasons which made the governor carry the ordinance from the towneworkes up into the castle were, 1st, That, the towne being so ill affected, the ordinance remaining in it would but be an invitation to the enemie to come to take them away, and a booty for them if they should. 2dly, He had often visited the guards, and found them expos'd much by their carelessenesse, wherefore he thought it his duty to preserve them, by souldiers more under his command. 3dly, Intelligence was brought to the committee, by a friend, then with the Earle of Newcastle, that Mr. Francis Pierrepont kept intelligence with his mother the Countesse of Kingston, carrying on a designe for betraying of the towne to the earle, and that letters were carried betweene them by a woman, who often came to towne to the collonell, and that two aldermen and a chiefe officer, employ'd about the ordinance, were confederates in the plott, whereupon a suspected cannoneer was secur'd, who, assoone as he obtain'd his liberty, ranne away to Newark. 4thly, When the towne was full of troopes, there had bene severall attempts to poyson and betray them, which if it should againe be attempted, after the most of the forces were gone, might prove effectuall. 5thly, The maine reason was, that if the towne should be surpriz'd or betrey'd (which was then most to be fear'd), the ordinance would be useless; if any considerable force came against the towne, it was impossible then to keepe the workes against them, with so few men, and it would be difficult, at such a time, to drawe of the artillery; if any force they were able to deale with came, it would then be time enough, after the alarum was given, to draw them to the workes, unlesse they were surpriz'd.

It was not only the towne mallignants that murmur'd at the drawing up of the ordinance, but Dr. Plumtre, hearing that the forces were to march away, was raging att it; whereupon, being answer'd that it was for the more publick interest of the cause, in greate passion he replied, "What is the cause "to me if my goods be lost?" The governor told him, he might prevent that hazard and secure them in the castle. He replied, "It "pittied him to soyle them, and he had rather "the enemie had them, then they should be "spoyl'd in remooving." While this was boyling upon his spiritt, he mett the governor, with some other gentlemen, in the streete, and began to rayle at him for countenancing the godly townsmen, whom he call'd a company of puritanicall prick-ear'd rascalls, and say'd the worst of the malignants, the governor had sent out of the towne, were honester men then the best of those he favour'd, and in spight of his teeth he would have three of the most eminent of them turn'd out of the castle: the governor telling him, he would maintaine them as the most faithfull friends to the cause, Plumtre replied he was as honest to the cause as the governor. "No," say'd the governor (who was not ignorant of his atheism), "that you cannot be, "for you goe not upon the same principles." The doctor told him, it was false, with such uncivill insolence, that the governor struck him, at which he departed quietly home; and after two or three dayes, retir'd with his wife and children to the house of Mr. Parkyns of

Bunney, who was at that time in arms against the parliament, where he stay'd till the parliament forces were routed, and Nottingham castle summon'd and preparing for a siege, and then he sent a ridiculous challenge to the governor, with all the foolish circumstances imaginable, which the governor, at that present, only answer'd with contempt: the pretence he made, was a distresse, wherein the committee had employ'd some of the governor's souldiers, for the leavying of an assessment, which his brother would not pay, and this distresse he call'd the governor's affront to his famely. Though these passages may seeme too impertinent here, yet they having bene grounds and beginnings of iniurious prosecutions, wherewith the governor was after much exercis'd, it was not altogether unnecessary to insert them, since even these little things were linkes in the chaine of providences which measur'd out his life.[e]

All the horse that had bene rays'd in Nottinghamshire, marcht away with Sr. John Meldrum, which were Collonell Thornhagh, Maior Ireton, Captaine White, and Captaine

---

[e] To some readers the recital of these bickerings and intrigues may seem little interesting, to others highly so; certain it is, that whoever refuses to read them, refuses to acquaint himself with the temper of those times, which they characterize in the most peculiar manner.

Farmer's troopes; who, together with Captaine Lomax and Captaine Schrimpshire's foote companies, ioyning with Collonell Cromwell's men, marcht to Gainsborough, and engag'd those that besieg'd it, and were victorious, killing their generall Sr. Charles Cavendish, with many more commanders and some hundreds of souldiers, and this was opportunely done, while my Lord Newcastle was hastning to come over the water and ioyne with them, who, by a bridge of boates, past all his army over, and came neere Gainsborough iust in a season to behold the rout of all his men. The parliament's forces expected he would have fallen upon them, and drew up in a body and faced him, but he advanced not, so they contented themselves to relieve Gainsborough, and made a very honorable retreate to Lincolne; but Gainsborough not being fortified, nor provided, this reliefe did not much advantage them, for my Lord Newcastle againe besieg'd it, which was render'd to him, after eight dayes, upon honorable conditions for the defendants, though they were not perform'd by the besiegers, for all my Lord Willoughbie's men were disarm'd contrary to articles,[f] and with them, some of the Nottingham souldiers, that had gone into the towne, to refresh themselves, and so were shut up with them, when my lord lay'd siege to it; the rest had gone to Lincolne. They had behaved themselves very well in the fight, where Captaine White receiv'd a wound in his hand in the forlorne hope; Collonell Thornhagh, who had fought very gallantly, was taken prisoner, and after he was stripp'd of his arms and coate, a maior of the enemie's, whom the collonell had slightly wounded in the fervor of the fight, came and basely wounded the collonell, being disarm'd, so that he left him for dead; but by the good providence of God, that wound which the enemie intended to give him death, gave him liberty; for comming to himself a little after his hurt, he crept to one of his owne tenant's houses, and there had his wounds bound up, and found meanes to gett to Lincolne, from whence all the forces that went from Nottingham disperst into different services. Maior Ireton quite left Collonell Thornhagh's regiment, and began an inseparable league with Collonell Cromwell, whose sonne in law he after was. None of them could returne to Nottingham, by reason of my Lord Newcastle's army, which lay between them and home.

---

[f] Particularly noticed by Whitelock.

And now it was time for them at Nottingham to expect my Lord Newcastle, which the governor made provision for, with all the dilligence, that it was possible, under so many difficulties and obstacles, which would to any one elce have been discouragements; but he had so high a resolution, that nothing conquer'd it. The townsmen, through discontent at the drawing out of the forces, whereby their houses, famelies, and estates, were expos'd, began to envie, then to hate the castle, as griev'd that aniething should be preserv'd when all could not; and indeed those who were more concern'd in private interests then in the cause itselfe, had some reason, because the neighbourhood of the castle, when it was too weake to defend them, would endanger them. In this hate and discontent, all the souldiers being townsmen, except some of the governor's owne company, they resolv'd they would not goe into the castle, to behold the ruine of their houses; little considering that when the governor came first into Nottingham to defend them, at their earnest desire, he left a house and a considerable estate, to the mercy of the enemie, rather desiring to advance the cause then to secure his own stake; but their meane and halfe-affected hearts were not capable of such things. The governor perceiving this defection, sett some of the most zealous honest men, to find out how many there were in the towne, who neglecting all private interests would cheerefully and freely come in and venture all with him, intending, if he could not have found enough to defend the place, that he would have sent to other neighbouring garrisons to have borrow'd some. Upon this inquiry, it was found that many of Collonell Pierrepont's owne company were desireous to come in, but first wisht to know their collonell's resolution, how he would dispose of them; whereupon a hall was call'd, and the danger of the place declar'd to the whole towne, that they might have time to provide for their goods and persons before the enemie came upon them. The collonell being present, his companie asked him what he would advise them to do; to whom his answer was, "You have but three wayes to choose, either "leave the towne and secure yourselves "in some other parliament garrisons, or list "into the castle,[g] or stand on the workes and "have your throates cut." Two or three days after this he went to his mother's, and carried his children with part of his goods, and sent his wife to Sr. Gervas Clifton's house.

---

[g] The particular account which has before been spoken of, has in this place a little difference of expression, which yet perhaps signifies much. There Col. Pierrepont says, "List "into the castle with *John*, for soe in a iesting way he us'd to "call Coll. Hutchinson," alluding no doubt to his frank and downright mode of speaking and acting.

Notwithstanding this publick resolution in the Hall to his companie, he told them, and many others in private, that he preferr'd the interest of the towne above that of his life, and would expose his life for the good of it, and stand on the workes of the towne as long as they could be defended, and when they could no longer be kept, would retire to some other parliament garrison. Others he told he scorn'd his colours should serve in the castle; that if his companie went up thither, he would gett him a new one, which should follow him wherever he went, and many more such things in private; but openly, both to the governor and others, approv'd and encourag'd their going into the castle. According to his advice, the townsmen, as they were diversely affected, disposed of themselves, the mallignants all lay'd downe their arms and stay'd in the towne, some honest and well affected, but not bold enough to stand the hazard, went to other parliament garrisons and serv'd there; others secured themselves, their goods and famelies, in the country; some listed into the castle; one Alderman Nix, captaine of two hundred, gave up his commission, his men all disbanded, except about forty, who came into the castle and fill'd up the broken companies there. At length, out of all the four companies and the whole towne, about 300 men listed into the castle.

The governor had procured 40 barrells of pouder, and two thousand weight of match from London, and had increased the store of provision, as much as the present poverty of their condition would permitt him. Then the committee of Nottingham, so many of them as were remaining in the towne, and all the ministers of the parliament's party there, came up to the castle, and, with the officers of the garrison, eate at the governor's, to very greate charge, considering that he was so farre from receiving pay at that time, that all the mony he could procure of his owne creditt, or take up with others, he was forc'd to dispend, for the several necessities of the souldiers and garrison; yett were the souldiers then, and a long time after, kept together as long as they could live, without any pay, and after pay'd part in victualls, and the rest run on in arrears.[h]

---

[h] In all the histories of those times we read so much of the soldiers' complaints for want of pay, and so much of auditing their officers' accounts, as, being no way reconcileable to modern practice, makes one suppose the officers fraudulent, the souldiers mutinous; but this opinion will be corrected by observing what is here recited. Hence we shall likewise conceive a high idea of the virtue of those men, who started forth out of every rank of life to devote themselves to the service of God and their country, and preserved through such privations

The townsmen who came into the castle, dispos'd their famelies into severall villages in the country, and at length a trumpett was sent, for a safe conduct, for a gentleman, from my Lord Newcastle, and having it, Maior Cartwright came from him with a summons for the delivery of the towne and castle, to which the committee for the towne, and the governor, for the castle, return'd a civill defiance in writing, about the tenth day of August. Cartwright, having receiv'd it, and being treated with wine by the governor and the rest of the officers, grew bold in the exercise of an abusive witt he had, and told both Mr. Hutchinsons they were sprightly young men, but when my lord should come with his armie, he should find them in other termes, beseeching my lord to spare them, as misled young men, and suffer them to march away with a cudgell, and "then," say'd he, "shall "I stand behind my lord's chaire and laugh." At which the governor being angrie, told him he was much mistaken, for he scorn'd ever to yield on any terms, to a papisticall armie led by an atheistical generall.[i] Mr. George

---

and difficulties; and consider their interference in the settling the constitution of their country, for which they had fought, in a far different light from the tumult and mutiny of mercenary soldiers.

[i] Charles the First, when accused of retaining papists, de-

Hutchinson told him, "If my lord would have "that poore castle, he must wade to it in "blood." Which words they say he told his generall. After these summons were receiv'd, the governor drew all his souldiers into the castle, and committed the guard of the towne to the aldermen, who were to sett guards of fifty in a night, according to their wards. Then calling together his souldiers, he once againe represented to them their condition, and told them, that being religious and honest men, he could be assured no extremity would make them faile, in what they found themselves strong enough to undertake, and therefore he should not feare to lett them freely understand their danger, which yet they had power to shunne, and therefore whatever miserie might be the issue of their undertaking, they could not iustly impute it to him, it being their owne election: for after this summons they must expect the enemie, and to be reduc'd to the utmost extremity by them, that

---

nied having any in his army, and tried to have it believed that those which the Earl of Newcastle had enlisted were unknown to him, although there is ample proof that it was done by his order: that nobleman acted in a much more ingenuous manner, and, as is before related in a quotation from Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs, turned the imputation into a jest; probably his indifference about the religion of his souldiers caused the epithet of, *Atheistical*, to be applied to him, certainly without sufficient reason.

thought could reach : it must not moove them to see their houses flaming, and, if need were, themselves firing of them, for the publique advantage, to see the peices of their famelies, cruelly abus'd and consum'd before them; they must resolve upon hard dutie, fierce assaults, poore and sparing diet, perhaps famine, and want of all comfortable accommodations; nor was there very apparent hope of reliefe at last, but more then common hazard of loosing their lives, either in defence of their fort, or with the place; which, for want of good fortifications, and through disadvantage of a neighbouring mount and building, was not, in humane probability, tenable against such an armie as threaten'd it: all which, for his owne part, he was resolv'd on, and if any of them found his courage failing, he only desir'd they would provide for their safety, in time, elcewere, and not preiudice him and the publick interest so highly, as they would doe, to take upon them the defence of the castle, except they could be content to lay downe their lives and all their interests in it. The souldiers were none of them terrified at the dangers which threat'ned their undertaking; but at the latter end of August, tooke, upon the solemne fast day, the nationall covenant, and besides it, a particular, mutuall covenant, betweene them and the governor, to be faithfull to each other, and to hold out the place to the death, without entertaining any parlee, or accepting any termes from the enemie: and this the governor was forc'd to doe, to confirme them, for he had his exercise, not only by the ungodly and ill-affected, but even the godly themselves, who thought it scarce possible for any one to continue a gentleman, and firme to a godly interest, and therefore repay'd all his vigilancy and labours for them with a very uniust iealousie.[k] The governor of Newark was his cousin germane, to whom he was forc'd, against his nature, to be more uncivill then to any other that were governors in that place. Whether it were that the dissention of brethren is allwayes most spitefully persued, or that Sr. Richard Biron, as 'twas reported, suffer'd under the same suspitions on his side, it is true they were to each other the most uncivill enemies that can be imagined. After this summons, my Lord Newcastle came not, according to their bravadoes, but diverted his armie to Hull, to besiege my Lord Fairfax there; they of Newark having gotten him to send this summons, upon confidence, knowing the condition of the place, that it would have bene yielded to a peice of paper. The governor immediately sett upon the fortification of his castle, made a worke behinde it, another to the Line side, turn'd the Dove Coate into a platforme, and made a court of guard in Mortimer's Hole.

---

[k] It passes for a saying of Charles the Second, that the presbyterian might be a very good religion, but it was not the religion of a gentleman; these good folks seem to have been of the same mind. The French have taken care not to fall short in imitating this malicious prejudice, but stamped with the hated name of Aristocrat every person at all elevated above the vulgar, though ever so generous a friend of liberty.

At this time Sr. Thomas Hutchinson died at London,[1] and gave all his personall estate, and all that was unsettled at Mr. Hutchinson's marriage, to his second wife and her children; att which his two sonns had not the least repining thought, but out of tender love, were very much aflicted for his loss, and procured a passe from Newark for Mr George Hutchinson, to goe to London, to visit his mother and fetch mournings, which accordingly he did; and upon a letter the committee sent up by him, brought downe an order of parliament to allow a table to the governor and committee, whom Mr. Hutchinson had till that time entertain'd at his owne cost, with all the officers of the garrison and the ministers, which were no small charge to him, who had a noble heart, and could not basely evade the expence, which that place necessarily drew upon him, not only by the constant entertainement of the committee, officers, and ministers, and all parliament officers, that came and went through the garrison, but by the relieving of the poore souldiers, who had such short pay, that they were, for the most part, thirty weekes and more behind; and when they marcht out at any time, the governor would not suffer them to take a cup of drink unpay'd for, in the country, but allwayes, wherever they tooke any refreshment in their marches, pay'd it himselfe. He besides gave them much from his owne house, especially when any of them were sick or wounded, and lent monies to those that were most necessitous. All this run him into a greate private debt, besides many thousands of pounds, which he engaged himselfe in with other gentlemen, taken up for the supplie of the garrison and carrying on of the publick service. Allthough the allowance of his table were much envied by those meane fellows, that never knew what the expence of a table was, and although it was to him some ease, yet did it not defray the third part of his expence in the service, being but ten pounds a weeke allow'd by the state, and his expences all that time, only in the publick service, and not at all in any particular of his owne famely, being, as it was kept upon account, above fifteen hundred pounds a yeare. Assoone as his father was dead, and rents became due to him, the enemies, in the middst of whom his estate lay, fetcht in his tenants and imprison'd them, and tooke his rents; his estate was begg'd and promis'd by the king; those who liv'd not upon the place, flung up his grounds, and they lay unoccupied, while the enemy prevail'd in the country. He was not so cruell as others were to their tenants, who made them pay over againe those rents which the enemie forc'd them to redeeme themselves out of prison withall, but lost the most part of his rents, all the while the country was under the adverse power; he had some small stock of his owne plunder'd, and his house, by the perpetuall haunting of the enemie, defac'd, and for want of inhabitation render'd allmost uninhabitable. For these things he had some subscriptions,[m] but never receiv'd any pennie recompense, and his arrears of pay, which he receiv'd after all the warre was done, did not halfe pay the debts those services contracted. But when he undertooke this engagement, it was for the defence of his countrie's and God's cause, and he offer'd himselfe and all he had, a willing sacrifice in the service, and rather prays'd God for what was sav'd, then repin'd at what was spent, it being above his expectation, that deliverance which God gave him out of his enemies' hands. He might have made many advantages by the spoyle of his enemies, which was often brought in, and by other encroachments upon the country, which allmost all the governors, on both sides, exacted every where elce, but his heart abhorr'd it: all prize the souldiers had, and he never

---

[1] August 18, 1643, as appeared by his tombstone, under the communion table in St. Paul's Covent Garden, London, and that he was 55 when he died. J. H.

A marginal note written by Julius Hutchinson, grand-father of the editor.

---

[m] By subscriptions is here meant acknowledgments or certificates given by the committees, which parliament professed to make good, but many times did not. But Col. Hutchinson's disinterestedness and devotion to the cause did not suffice to exempt him from calumny, for in Walker's History of Independency, p. 166, et seq. a list is given of members of parlia-

---

ment who were unduly returned, who held commands contrary to the self-denying ordinance, or had monies or offices given them. And Col. Hutchinson is accused of all *three;* how absurdly and unjustly every one must perceive. He was regularly elected to parliament in place of his father deceased; he had a regiment which he raised, and in a great degree subsisted himself; he had a government, which, at the time of his undertaking it, was a charge others feared to accept, and which for a long time was a loss and a detriment to him, and at the end of all he fell far short of receiving as much as he had expended. In the same place Mr. William Pierrepont is most invidiously accused of getting 40,000*l.* — *but how? it was the personal estate of his own father.*

shar'd it; all mallignants' goods, the committee dispos'd of, and it ever griev'd his heart, to see the spoyle of his neighbours, how iustly soever they deserv'd it; but he chose all losse, rather then to make up himselfe,° by violence and rapine. If in a iudiciall way, he were forc'd att any time, in discharge of his trust, to signe any harsh orders, against any of the gentlemen of the country, it was with griefe that they should deserve that severity, but this testimony is a truth of him, that in his whole actings in this cause, he never prosecuted any private lust, either of revenge, ambition, avarice, or vaine glory, under a public vizard, but was most truly publick spirited. Conscience to God, and truth and righteousnesse, according to the best information he could gett, engag'd him in that party he tooke; that which engag'd him, carried him through all along, though he encount'red with no less difficulties and contradictions, from those of his owne party that were not of the same spiritt he was, then from his enemies.

The death of Sr. Thomas Hutchinson made every way a greate reverse in the affairs of his eldest sonne, who had before bene look'd upon as his father's heire, and reverenc'd as

---

° Make himself up, make himself whole, reimburse himself.

much, or rather more, upon his father's score, then his owne, so that no man durst attempt to iniure him, whom they look'd upon under such a powerfull protection. Sr. Thomas and his fathers before him had ever deserv'd very well of their country, and, as lovers of their country, their neighbours had an implicite faith in all their dictates and actions, insomuch that Sr. Thomas Hutchinson's single authority sway'd with many more then all the greater names of the country. But he at his death having devided, all things consider'd, his estate betweene the children of his two wives, though it be true the latter deserv'd more then they had, yett it is as true the first deserv'd not to be so much lessen'd as they were, and Mr. Hutchinson having bene knowne to be the most pious and obedient sonne, from his childhood, that ever any father was blest in, when it came to be knowne that his father had given away all that was in his power to give from him, those that had a greate reverence and esteeme for Sr. Thomas would not believe him so defective in iustice to doe this without some secret cause, and therefore it was given out that he was displeas'd with his son's engagement, and for that cause dispos'd away so much of his estate from them, but that was not soe. Indeed at the time of his death the parliament's interest was so low that he might well looke upon them as lost persons, and so what he gave away to the unengaged infant he might well looke upon as all that could be preserv'd. Mr. Hutchinson had only an allowance from his father, while he lived, which was duely pay'd him, but assoone as he died all his estate was seiz'd by the enemie; who had so much desire not to iniure publickly a person so popular, that they disturb'd not Sr. Thomas his tenants while he lived, though he continued with the parliament, and faithfull to their interest, because he was moderate, and one that applied all his endeavours to peace, which he did not out of pollicie, but out of conscience to his country, and a wise foresight of the sad consequences of a conquest by either side; for he hath often exprest, that accommodation was farre more desireable then warr, and he dreaded that the spiritts of those men would become most insolent after conquest who were so violently bent to prosecute a warre; that some of them, whom we have since known to be vile apostates, then profest they abhorr'd accommodation. This report of Sr. Thomas his dislike of his son's engagement was rays'd and disperst by those who themselves were ill-affected to it, but however it abated all the respects men had for him, upon any account but his owne. Those who had entertain'd a secret envie of him, now fear'd not to manifest it, and began to worke secret mines, to blow him up on all sides; but God was with him, and disappointed all his enemies, and made his vertues more illustrious by the oppositions they encounter'd with, and the removall of all those props of wealth and power which are necessary to hold up weaker fabricks.[p]

---

[p] Here is in the original a marginal note in the following words: "The division of Sir Thomas Hutchinson's estate. Sir "Thomas Hutchinson being mightily belov'd in the country, "and a moderate man, using all his endeavours for peace, his "estate was never plunder'd in his lifetime; and tho' it is here "falsely insinuated that he approved of his son's conduct in "taking armes against the king, 'tis most true that he was "extremely afflicted at it, being altogether for peace, and "condemned such rash councells as armes on both sides; and "the miserys he saw his king and country involved in were "certainly the occasion of his death: and though Sir T. "Hutchinson sat longer in the house than many honest men, "it was only in hopes by his moderate councells to effect a "happy peace between his king and country. All this I have "heard attested by his lady and relict, my grandmother. "Teste J. Hutchinson." This is that testimony of Lady Katharine Hutchinson which was spoken of in the preface, and which, in attempting to impeach the veracity of the author in a single point, contributes largely to corroborate it in all. In the very instance before us there seems much more reason for the opinion of Mrs. Hutchinson than of Lady Katharine: Sir Thomas Hutchinson had before been imprisoned for his opposition to the court; was in this parliament

Soone after the death of his father, one Mr. Ayscough, a gentleman of the country, allied to Sir Richard, since Lord Biron, then governor of Newark, came to the governor of Nottingham, and told him that Sir Richard Biron, out of that tender natural affection which he ever had for him, and still preserved, desir'd him now to consider his wife and children, and the losse of his whole estate, which was so inevitable, if he persisted in the engagement he was in, that some had already bene suing to the Earle of Newcastle for it; but if he would returne to his obedience to the king, he might not only preserve his estate, but have what reward he pleas'd to propound for so doing: to which the governor

---

on all committees for the reform of religion; sat with the parliament after the war was deeply engaged; sent his sons arms, and promoted their desires to the parliament: it is incredible that he should have any great objection to the part they took, other than the general one of regretting that arms were taken on either side. The most probable thing is that this lady, being of the same party and opinion as her brother and family, and jealous of Sir Thomas Hutchinson's children by his former wife, influenced him to their disadvantage in the making of his will, and set up these reasons to countenance it after his death. The other estates of Sir Thomas Hutchinson in Notts were fully equal, if not superior, in value to that of Owthorpe. This being the only instance wherein the truth of the narrative is called in question, and this certainly invidiously, if not unjustly, we may safely say we have the testimony of an adversary in our favour to all the rest.

telling him, this was a thing he ought to scorne, Mr. Ayscough told him that Sir Richard had, only out of love and tender compassion to him, given him this employment, with many protestations how much Sr. Richard desir'd to employ all his interest to save him, if it were possible, and therefore beg'd of him that if he would still persist in this party, that he would yet quitt himselfe of this garrison, and goe into my lord of Essex his armie, for there, he said, Sr. Richard would find pretence to save his rents for him for the present and his estate for the future; for, say'd he, he can plead, "you were an inconsiderate young man, rashly engag'd, and "dares assure himselfe to beg your pardon; "but to keep a castle against your king is a "rebellion of so high a nature, that there "will be no colour left to aske favour for "you." The governor told him he should deliver the same propositions, and receive his answer, before some witnesses, whereupon he carried the gentlemen to two of the committee, before whom he repeated his message, and the governor bade him returne Sr. Richard answer, "that except he found his owne "heart prone to such treachery, he might "consider there was, if nothing elce, so much "of a Biron's blood in him, that he should "very much scorne to betrey or quitt a trust

" he had undertaken; but the grounds he " went on were such, that he very much de- " spised such a thought as to sell his faith for " base rewards or feares, and therefore could " not consider the losse of his estate, which " his wife was as willing to part with as him- " selfe, in this cause, wherein he was resolv'd " to persist, in the same place, in which it " had pleased God to call him [q] to the defence " of it."

About this time a woman was taken, whereof the committee had before bene inform'd, that she carried intelligence betweene Coll. Pierrepont and his mother, the countesse of Kingston. The woman was now going through Nottingham, with letters from the old countesse to her daughter-in-law, the collonell's wife, who was then at Clifton, Sr. Gervas Clifton's house. In this pacquet there was a letter drawne, which the countesse adviz'd her daughter to signe, to be sent to Coll. Stanton, one of the king's collonells, to entreate back from him some goods of her husband's which he had plunder'd; wherein there were these expressions: " that though her " husband was unfortunately engag'd in the " unhappie rebellion, she hoped ere long he " would approve himselfe a loyall subject to " his majesty." The committee having read these letters, seal'd them up againe, and enclos'd them in another to the collonell, then at Derby, telling him that having intercepted such letters, and not knowing whether his wife might follow her mother's advice, which if he should, would prove very dishonourable to him, they had chosen rather to send the letters to him then to her. The collonell was vext that they had open'd them, but for the present tooke no notice of it. All the horse having bene drawne out of Nottingham to the reliefe of Gainsborough, and the Newarkers, knowing that the garrison was utterly destitute, plunder'd all the country, even to the walls of Nottingham; upon which some godly men offer'd themselves to bring in their horses, and forme a troope for the defence of the country, and one Mr. Palmer, a minister, had a commission to be their captaine.[r] This man had a bold, ready, earnest way of preaching, and liv'd holily and regularly, as to outward conversation, whereby he gott a greate reputation among the godly, and this reputation swell'd his spiritt, which was very vaine-glorious, covetous, contentious, and ambitious: he had insinuated himselfe so as to make these godly men desire him for their captaine, which he had more vehement longing after then they, yett would have it believ'd that it was rather prest upon him, then he prest into it; and therefore being at that time in the castle with his famely, and feeding at the governor's table, who gave him roome in his owne lodgings, and all immaginable respect, he came to the governor and his wife, telling them that these honest people prest him very much to be their captaine, and desiring their friendly and christian advice, whether he should accept or refuse it. They freely told him that having enter'd into a charge of another kind, they thought it not fitt to engage in this, and that he might as much advance the publique service and satisfie the men in marching with them in the nature of a chaplaine, as in that of a captaine. He that ask'd not councell, to take any contrary to his first resolve, went away confus'd, when he found he was not adviz'd as he would have bene, and sayd he would endeavour to persuade them to be content; and after sayd, they would not be otherwise satisfied, and so he was forct to accept the commission. The governor having only declar'd his owne iudgement when he was askt, as a Christian ought to doe, according to his conscience, left the captaine to act according to his owne, and censur'd him not, but entertain'd him with the same freedom and kindnesse he had done before; but the man, being guilty[s] of the avarice and ambition of his owne heart, never after that lookt upon the governor with a cleare eie, but sought to blow up all factions against him, whenever he found oppertunity, and in the meane time dissembled it as well as he could. And now before his troope was well raised, Coll. Thornhagh being recover'd, brought back his troope from Lincolne, and both the troopes quarter'd in the towne, which being a baite to invite the enemie, the governor gave charge to all that belong'd to the castle, being about three hundred men, that they should not upon any pretence whatever be out of their quarters; but they having, many of them, wives and better accommodations in the towne, by stealth disobey'd his commands, and seldom left any more in the castle then what were upon the guard.

---

[q] Notice is taken by Whitelock of several attempts to prevail on Colonel Hutchinson to betray his trust, and of his steady adherence to it: there will be seen other instances more remarkable than this, but here are two things extremely well worth notice; this elegant and forcible apostrophe to Sir Richard Byron; and the patriotic and disinterested devotion of Mrs. Hutchinson to the cause, at least a rare example in her sex.

---

[r] This, if not unique, is at least a singular trait.

The townsmen were every night sett upon the guard of the towne, according to the wards of the aldermen, but the most of them being disaffected, the governor, fearing treachery, had determin'd to quarter the horse in those lanes which were next to the castle, and to block up the lanes for the better securing them. Just the night before these lanes should have bene blockt up, Alderman Toplady, a greate mallignant, having the watch, the enemie was, by treachery, lett into the towne, and no alarum given to the castle; though there were two musketts at the gate where they enter'd both of them were surrender'd, without one shott to give notice, and all the horse, and about two parts of the castle souldiers, betrey'd, surpriz'd, and seiz'd on in their beds, but there were not above fourscore of the castle foote taken; the rest hid themselves, and privately stole away, some into the country, some by night came up to the castle and gott in, in disguizes, by the river side; but the cavalliers were possest of the towne, and no notice at all given to the castle. When, at the beating of reveille, some of the souldiers, that had bene on the watch all night, were going downe into the towne to refresh themselves, they were no sooner out of the castle gates but some of the enemie's musketeers discharg'd upon them, and they hasting back, gott in with such care that the enemy was prevented of their designe of falling in with them. They brought a strong alarum into the castle, where the governor coming forth, was exceedingly vext to find that his men were, so many of them, contrary to his command, wanting in their quarters; but it was no time to be angrie, but to applie himselfe to doe what was possible to preserve the place; wherefore he immediately dispatcht messengers, by a private sally-port, to Leicester and Derby, to desire their assistance, either to come and helpe beate the enemie out of the towne, or to lend him some foote to helpe keepe the castle, in which there was but fourscore men, and never a lieftenant nor any head officer but his brother, nor so much as a surgeon among them. Assoone as the governor had dispatcht his messengers he went up to the towers, and from thence play'd his ordinance into the towne, which seldome fail'd of execution upon the enemie; but there was an old church, call'd St. Nicholas Church, whose steeple so commanded the platforme that the men could not play the ordinance without woolpacks before them. From this church the bullets play'd so thick into the outward castle yard, that they could not passe from one gate to the other, nor relieve the guards, but with very greate hazard; and one weake old man was shot the first day, who, for want of a surgeon, bled to death before they could carry him up to the governor's wife, who at that time supplied that want as well as she could; but at night the governor and his men dug a trench betweene the two gates, through which they afterwards better secur'd their passage. In the meane time the cavalliers that came from Newark, being about six hundred, fell to ransack and plunder all the honest men's houses in the towne, and the cavalliers of the towne, who had call'd them in, helpt them in this worke. Their prisoners they at first put into the sheep pens in the market place[t], where an honest townsman seeing four or five commanders goe into his owne house, procur'd a cunning boy that came by him, while the enemie regarded more their plunder then the prisoners, to runne privately up to the castle and give them notice, who sent a cannon bullet presently into the house. The cavalliers call'd in all the country assoone as they were in the towne, and made a fort at the Trent bridges, and thither they carried downe all their considerable plunder and prisoners. The next day after Sr. Richard Biron had surpriz'd the towne, Mr. Hastings, since made lord of Loughborough, then governor of Ashby de la Zouch, came with a body of about four hundred men, but being displeased that the plunder was begun before he came, he returned againe and left the Newark gentlemen to themselves, who, as they made a fort at the bridges, threw downe the half moones and bulwarkes that had bene rais'd about the towne. They stayd five dayes, but very unquietly, for the cannon and muskets from the castle fail'd not of execution dayly upon many of them, and they durst not in all that time goe to bed. The third day Maior Cartwright sent a letter, desiring the governor or his brother to come and meete him in St. Nicholas Church, and promis'd them safe passage and returne; but the governor read the letter to his souldiers, and commanded a red flag to be sett upon the tower, to bid them defiance, and shott three pieces of cannon at the steeple, in answer to his desired parlee.

---

[s] Guilty; Latin, *sibi conscius,* conscious of.

---

[t] It appears by Deering's account of Nottingham that these once occupied a considerable portion of the market place.

Five dayes the enemie stay'd in the towne, and all that time the governor and his souldiers, none of them were off from the guard, but if they slept, which they never did in the night, it was by them that watcht. At length on Saturday, September the twenty-third, in the afternoone, the governor saw a greate many goods and persons going over the Line bridge, and not knowing what it meant, sent some cannon bullets after them, when on the other side of the towne he discern'd a body of men, whom he knew not at first, whether friends or foes, but having at that time about eightscore men in the castle, for in that five dayes space fourscore were come in by stealth, he caus'd them all to be drawne out in the castle yard, and perceiving that those he last saw were friends, he sent out his brother, Maior Hutchinson, with all the musketeers that could be spared, to helpe drive the enemie out of the towne. They having effected what they came for, in fortifying the bridges, had nothing more to doe but to gett safe of, which they endeavour'd with more hast and disorder then became good and stout souldiers. When Maior Hutchinson came into the towne with his men, they greedie of knowing what was become of their wives and houses, dropt so fast from behind him, to make the enquirie, that they had left him only in the head of sixteene men, when Sr. Richard Biron, with Captaine Hacker, follow'd by a whole troope of horse and a foote company, came upon him. The maior commanded his men to charge them, which they did, but shott over, yet falling in with them pell mell, they had gotten Sr. Richard Biron downe, and they had his hatt, but he escaped, though his horse was so wounded that it fell dead in the next streete.

These men that came to the governor's reliefe were Captaine White with his troope, who quarter'd at Leicester, in his returne from Lincolneshire, from whence he was coming back to Nottingham, and at Leicester mett the messenger the governor had sent for assistance, which he prosecuted so, that from the two garrisons of Leicester and Derby, with his owne troope, he brought about four hundred men. Assoone as they were come into the towne Sr. John Gell's men, seeing the cavalliers had a mind to be gone, interrupted them not, but being as dextrous at plunder as fight, they presently went to Topladie's house, who had betrey'd the towne, and plunder'd it and some others, while the governor's souldiers were busie in clearing the towne of the enemie. When they had done this, the governor did what he could to restreine the plunder; but the truth is, Gell's men were nimble youths at that worke, yett there was not very much mischief done by them. Topladie's house fared the worst, but his neighbours saved much of his goods; he himselfe, with severall other townsmen and countriemen, who had bene very active against the well-affected, at this time were brought up prisoners to the castle. There were not above five-and-twenty of the Newark souldiers taken; how many were slaine at their going of and during the time of their stay we could not certeinely tell, because they had meanes of carrying them of by the bridge, where they left Captaine Hacker governor[u] of their new fort with fourscore men. Their prisoners and plunder they sent away in boates to Newark; many of the townsmen went with them, carrying away not only their owne, but their neighbours' goods, and much more had bene carried away, but that the unexpected sally of the castle prevented them. Dr. Plumptre, one of the committee of Nottingham, whom they found prisoner at the marshall's house in the towne, and releas'd, went out of towne with them. This man, when he had provok'd the governor to strike him, upon his mallitious and uncivill raylings against him for the respect he shew'd to the godly men of the towne, had retir'd to the house of a mallignant gentleman, in arms against the parliament, had receiv'd a protection from the governor of Newark, and had divers meetings with the Newark officers, yet after all this had the impudence to come into the towne of Nottingham; and in all the taverns and alehouses he came into, to belch out abominable scoffes and taunts against the governor and the committee men, before Coll. Thornhagh's face, who commanded him out of the room for it; and upon information of these things to the governor and the committee, he was sent for by some musketeers, and the enemie's protection for himselfe and his goods found about him, for which he was committed prisoner, but there being no good accommodation for him in the castle, the governor, in more civility then he deserv'd, suffer'd him to be in the towne, whence he went with them, and after retir'd to Derby. At the same time, the cavalliers having taken some prisoners upon the parliament's score who liv'd quietly in the country, the committee had fetcht in some gentlemen's sonns of their party, who were left at their fathers' houses, whereof one was remaining at the marshall's house when the cavalliers came into the towne, whom the governor suffer'd to be there upon his parolle, there being no good accommodation for him in the castle. Him the cavalliers would have had to have gone away with them, but he would not; which handsome behaviour so tooke the governor, that he freely gave him his liberty without exchange.[x]

---

[u] The brother of Colonel Hacker, who was tried, condemned, and executed, for attending the execution of Charles the First. This brother, who served the king during the whole war with great zeal, could not obtain the pardon of Col. Hacker, nor prevent the confiscation of his family estate, which was granted to the Duke of York, the king's brother, from whom he was obliged to ransom it at a high rate: it lay at Colston Basset, joining to Owthorpe.

Assoone as the enemie was driven out of the towne the governor brought downe two pieces of ordinance to the markett place, and entreated the souldiers that were come from Leicester and Derby to march with him immediately, to assault them in their fort at the bridges, before they had time to put themselves in order, and recollect their confused soules, after their chase; but the maior of Derby, an old dull-headed Dutchman, sayd ten thousand men could not doe it, and would by no means be entreated to go on, nor to stay one day longer, but to stand by, while the governor made the attempte, with his owne men. He, when he saw he could not prevaile, thought it not convenient, at that time, to urge his men, beyond their power, after they had had a week of such sore labour, and so, much discontented that he could not effect his desire, he drew back his ordinance into the castle. Here his weomen, while the men were all otherwise employ'd, had provided him as large a supper as the time and present condition would permit, at which he entertain'd all the strangers, and his owne officers and gentlemen.

---

[x] This story resembles some of those recited in the early and virtuous times of the Roman republic. Such anecdotes serve to relieve the mind, fatigued with reading of the crimes and follies of mankind.

There was a large roome, which was the chapell, in the castell: this they had fill'd full of prisoners, besides a very bad prison, which was no better than a dungeon, call'd the Lion's Den; and the new Captaine Palmer, and another minister, having nothing elce to doe, walk'd up and downe the castle yard, insulting and beating the poore prisoners as they were brought up. In the encounter, one of the Derby captaines was slaine, and five of our men hurt, who for want of another surgeon, were brought to the governor's wife, and she having some excellent balsoms and plaisters in her closett, with the assistance of a gentleman that had some skill, drest all their wounds, whereof some were dangerous, being all shotts, with such good successe, that they were all well cured in convenient time.[y] After our hurt men were drest, as she stood at her chamber doore, seeing three of the prisoners sorely cutt, and carried downe bleeding into the Lion's Den, she desir'd the marshall to bring them in to her, and bound up and drest their wounds alsoe: which while she was doing, Captaine Palmer came in and told her his soule abhorr'd to see this favour to the enemies of God; she replied, she had done nothing but what she thought was her duty, in humanity to them, as fellow-creatures, not as enemies: but he was very ill satisfied with her, and with the governor presently after, when he came into a large roome where a very greate supper was prepared, and more roome and meate then guests, to fill up which, the governor had sent for one Mr. Mason, one of the prisoners, a man of good fashion, who had married a relation of his, and was brought up more in fury, then for any proofe of guilt in him, and I know not whither two or three others, the governor had call'd to meate with them; for which Captaine Palmer bellow'd lowdly against him, as a favourer of mallignants and cavaliers.[z] Who could have thought this godly, zealous man, who could scarce eate his supper, for griefe to see the enemies of God thus favour'd, should have after enter'd into a conspiracy, against the governor, with those very same persons, who now so much provok'd his zeale? But the governor tooke no notice of it, though he sett the very souldiers a muttering against him and his wife, for these poore humanities.

---

[y] The reader will remember that the mother of Mrs. Hutchinson had patronized and assisted Sir Walter Raleigh, when prisoner in the Tower, in his chymical experiments, and had acquired a little knowledge of medicine; whether her daughter had obtained instructions from her mother, or the mother herself was here (for she passed the latter part of her life with her daughter, and died in her house at Owthorpe), is uncertain.—Mrs. Hutchinson was certainly an extraordinary woman, and this is not one of the least singular, nor least amiable instances of it.

---

[z] Behold a presbyterian and a sectary, a Levite and a Samaritan!

The next day the neighbour forces return'd home. Coll. Thornhagh having lost the most of his troope, went to London to gett another. Captaine White stay'd at Nottingham with his, where intelligence being given, that the cavaliers intended to possesse themselves of Broxtowe and Woollerton, two gentlemen's houses within two miles apiece of Nottingham, Captaine Palmer was sent, with the remainder of his men, to keepe Broxtowe house, and the governor's captaine lieftenant, with his company, to Woollerton. The governor, at Nottingham, broke up the Line Bridge to prevent the cavaliers coming suddenly that way into the towne; then he blockt up the lanes next the castle, and cut up all the hedges, that were dangerous to make approaches to the castle, and having the experience of the mischiefe of it, pull'd downe St. Nicholas' church by the advice of the committee.[a]

---

[a] It is said, in Deering's History of Nottingham, that this church was pulled down by Col. Hutchinson, and the bells

Presently after the cavaliers were gone out of towne, some naughty people, sett on by them, fir'd the towne, but it was quenched without burning above two or three houses, yett for a fortnight together it was perpetually attempted, fire being lay'd to hay-barnes and other combustible places, insomuch that the weomen were forc'd to walke by fiftie in a night to prevent the [b]burning, which the committee perceiving to be attempted by the instigation of the Newark gentlemen, they writt them worde, that if they forbade not their instruments, if so much as one house were fired, they would fire all the cavaliers houses near them. The gentlemen return'd them a scornefull letter, full of taunts and dis-

---

carried to Owthorpe; which last was at that time impossible, the enemy being in possession of the vale of Belvoir and the ways to it. And moreover, the church at Owthorpe was, as Deering in another place observes, too small to contain them. In Throsby's edition of Thoroton, he remarks that neither Deering nor Thoroton were properly acquainted with the circumstances of that affair, and mentions, that in digging near the foundation of the present tower, (for the church has been rebuilt), a bell was found evidently broken to pieces at the demolition of the church; probably by the cannon shot which was sent in answer to Major Cartwright's message. The situation of this church was both very near to the castle, and on a parallel height.

[b] This is a curious fact, and points out a way of turning to use and profit the timorousness and watchfulness of her sex.

daine, but after that no more houses were attempted with fire.

The Derby souldiers, when they return'd home, being askt why they left the cavaliers at the bridges unassaulted, made answer, they would have beaten them out, but the governor would not lend them a piece of ordinance out of his castle; which false report, when the governor heard, peek'd him heartly, being so notorious a lie; for he drew downe two pieces of ordinance, and could not entreate them but to stand by, while he attempted it with his owne men, but their Maior Molanus, being an old souldier, discourag'd our souldiers, and told them, it was a vaine and impossible attempt. For this cause, the governor resolv'd he would sett upon it alone, whenever it was seasonable, and watching an opportunity, he soone tooke it, at a time, when intelligence was brought him, that all the forces Newark could send forth, were gone upon a designe into Lincolneshire. Then, on the Lord's Day, under colour of hearing a sermon at the greate church in the towne, he went thither, and after sermon, from the steeple tooke a view of the fort at the bridges, no one perceiving his designe, but his engineer, who was with him, and tooke a full survey of Hacker's workes. Then, after supper, he call'd the committee together, and communicated his intentions to them, which they approv'd of. So all that night he spent in preparations against the next morning; he sent away orders to the horse and foote that lay at Broxtowe to come to him in the morning by eight of the clock, with all the pioneers they could gather up in the country; he sent into the towne, and caused all the pioneers there to be brought up, under pretence of making a brestwork before the castle gates, and pretending to sett them upon the platformes, caused all the cannon basketts to be fill'd, which he intended for rolling trenches. All things, betimes in the morning, being gotten into perfect readinesse, and so discreetly order'd, that the enemie had no notice from any of their friends in towne, nor knew aniething of the designe, till it was readie, the governor, about eleven of the clock, on Munday morning, marcht out, although the weather at that time, being very tempestuous and rayny, seem'd to have combin'd with his enemies and withstood the attempt; but the souldiers were rather animated then discourag'd, thinking that difficulties, after they were vanquisht, would encrease their glory. So when the ugly storme had, three or foure howers, wasted itselfe in its fury on them, it fell at their feete, and no more envious clowds obscur'd the chearfull face of heaven, so long as they continued in the field. The governor's owne company marcht through the meadowes and gave the alarum to the enemies foote, while Mr. George Hutchinson's company went through the lanes, to gaine a nooke, which was very advantageous for the approaches of our men, and which they easily possest themselves of, and then advancing, planted their colours within musket shott of the fort. Although they planted so many colours, the governor had but eight score foot, and a hundred horse, in all that went with him, out of the castle, but he sett the pioneers fairely among them to make the better shew.

When the colours were thus planted, the pioneers were sett to worke to cast up a brestworke, and being left in a safe posture with the inferior officers, the governor and his brother went up to the castle, to order the drawing downe of the ordinance: meanwhile the cavaliers sallied out of their fort to gaine the colours, at whose approach all the pioneers ranne away from their workes, but the souldiers kept their ground and their colours, and beate back the enemie into their owne fort, killing some of them, whereof two were left dead before our men, whom they thought it not safe to carry of. Our horse meeting the flying pioneers, brought them back againe to their workes, which they continued all that day, and the cavaliers attempted no more sallies. At evening the ordinance were brought downe and planted within muskett-shott of the fort, and then the governor dispatcht a messenger to Derby to tell Sr. John Gell, if he pleas'd to send any of his men, they might come and see the fort taken. Accordingly on Tuesday the Dutch Maior came, with about six score foote and dragoones. Hard by the fort, at the bridges, at that side our men approacht, there were two houses full of coales, into which, if the cavaliers had put any men, they might have done much mischiefe, to the assailants, wherefore the governor sent two or three souldiers, who very boldly went allmost under their workes and fired them both, by the light of which, burning all night, the governor's men wrought all that night in their trenches, and cutt a trench in the meadowes, some of them calling to the cavaliers in the fort, and keeping them in abusive replies, one upon another, while the pioneers carried on their workes; the governor and his brother, and all the other officers, continuing all night in the trenches with them, they behav'd themselves so cheerefully, that the governor gave them the next morning twenty pounds, and they had very good drinke and provisions brought them out of the garrison, which much encourag'd them, but the governor's presence and alacrity among them much more. When Derby men came on Tuesday, the Dutch maior came downe to the trenches, and told the governor that he wonder'd he would attempt the fort, for it was impregnable, and therefore much disswaded him from going on, and say'd he and his men would returne. The governor told him he and the souldiers with him were resolv'd to leave their lives rather then their attempt, and if they fail'd for want of seconding, by that force which was sent with him to their assistance, let the blame lie on him. When the Derby officers saw him so resolute to persist, they, after much disswasion and dispute, determin'd to stay, and the officers went up with the governor to supper in the castle; the souldiers to quarters provided for them in the towne: but after supper, the governor went downe againe, and stay'd all night in the trenches with his men, and left them not as long as they stay'd there, but only to fetch downe what was necessary for them. He, his brother, and all the officers, were every night with them, and made them continue their custome of rayling at each other in the darke, while they carried on their approaches. There was in the Trent, a little piece of ground which, by damming up the water, the cavaliers had made an island;

while some of the souldiers held them in talke, others on Wednesday night cut the sluce, and by breake of day on Thursday morning had pitcht two colours in the island, within carabine shot of the fort, and the governor's companie had as much advanc'd their approach on the other side. When they in the fort saw, in the morning, how the assailants had advanct, while they were kept secure in talke all the night, they were extremely madde, and swore like devills, which made the governor and his men greate sport: and then it was believ'd they in the fort began to thinke of flight; which the besiegers not expecting, still continued their approaches, and that day got forty yards nearer in the island and on the other side. Although Sr. John Gell's men came but on Tuesday, on Thursday the second messenger came from him, to call them back. The governor entreated them to stay that night and keepe the trenches while his men refresht themselves: which they did, but his men would not goe out of their trenches, but slept there to fitt themselves for the assault which the governor had resolv'd in the morning, and for that purpose, after he had left them with all things provided in their trenches, he went to the castle to see the fire-balls and other necessaries for the assault brought downe, and at three in the morning came with them, when the souldiers told him the cavaliers in the fort had for two hours left of shooting. He sent some souldiers then to the worke sides to discover what this meant; but they, perceiving the place empty, went in and found that all the garrison was stollen away, and had left behind them four score sheep, a hundred loads of coales, twenty quarter of oates, much hay, a greate deale of plunder'd lead, and a fort so strong, that if they had had such courage as became men of their profession, thay would never have quitt it. They left all their workes standing, and only broke up two arches of the Trent bridges, to hinder the governor's men from following them. Their flight was by that meanes secur'd, the river being so out that the horse could not ford over. Mr. George Hutchinson and his company were appoynted to possess and keepe the fort at the bridges, which he did, and the next weeke the garrison kept a day of solemne thanksgiving to God, for this successe and the mercy in it, whereby all their men were preserv'd, notwithstanding their very bold adventures, so that not one of them was slaine, and but four of them wounded, whereof three were so slightly hurt, that they return'd againe next day into the field. To encrease their thanks to God, newes was brought them that the same weeke the forces that went out from Newark ioyn'd with Henderson's had receiv'd a greate overthrow by Cromwell, and my Lord Newcastle had been forc'd to rayse his siege of Hull with great losse and dishonor. Some time after the bridge was recover'd, the horse went forth and brought in some oxen of Mr. John Wood's, a iustice of the county, disaffected to the parliament, but not in action against them. He, following his oxen, came to the governor, and, after he had dispatcht his businesse, told him how Mr. Sutton would have once employ'd him on a mesage, to offer the governor any termes he would aske the king, to come over to his side and deliver up the castle to his use. Mr. Wood told him, such a message might not obtaine creditt, unlesse he had some propositions in writing, whereupon he call'd for pen and inke, and writ that he should offer the governor, if he would resigne his castle, not only to be receiv'd into favour, but to have what reward of honour, mony, or command, himselfe would propound; which paper when Mr. Wood had receiv'd, Sr. Richard Biron came in, and Mr. Sutton told him the businesse, to which Sr. Richard answer'd he believ'd it would not take effect, for he himselfe had made the like offers to him, and bene reiected[c]: which Mr. Wood hearing, would not undertake the employment, but the governor made him declare the story to two of the gentlemen of the committee.

The governor not growing secure by successes, was but stirr'd up to more active preparations for the defence of the place he had undertaken, and having a very ingenuous person, Mr. Hooper, who was his engineer, and one that understood all kind of operations, in allmost all things imaginable, they procur'd some saltpeter-men and other necessary labourers, and sett up the making of pouder and match in the castle, both which they made very good; they alsoe cast mortar pieces in the towne, and finisht many other inventions for the defence of the place. The governor also caus'd a mount neere the castle to be bulwark'd, and made a platforme for ordinance, and rays'd a new worke before the castle gates, to keepe of approaches, and made a new in-worke in the fort at the bridges.

Sr. Thomas Fairfax, being overmaster'd in the North, by the Earle of Newcastle's greate armie, after his father was retir'd into Hull, came with those horse, that were left him, into the Vale of Belvoir, and so visited Nottingham castle, where he and the commanders that were with him, considering of what advantage it was to the parliament to keepe that place, by reason of the commodious situation of it, and the passe which might be there maintain'd, between the north and south, and the happie retreate it might afford to their northern forces, he very much presst the governor and the committee to raise all the force they could, offering arms and commissions for them: especially he prest the governor to compleate a regiment for himselfe, which at that time he would not accept, because Collonell Pierrepont had not yett declar'd what he would doe with his regiment. The Collonell was then at Derby, whither some of his officers going to him, to know what they should doe, he dismisst them; yet comming to towne, he gave out strange envious whispers, and behav'd himselfe, so disingenuously to the governor, that he had iust cause to have no more regard for him, and being againe importun'd by Sr. Thomas Fairfax, he receiv'd a commission to rayse a regiment of twelve hundred. He presently recruited his owne companies, and began to rayse more: Mr. George Hutchinson was his lieftenant collonell, and one Mr. Widmerpoole his maior; there was a companie rays'd by one Captaine

---

[c] This is the second instance of attempting Col. Hutchinson's fidelity, but the most remarkable one will be found in the sequel.

Wright; there remain'd a broken piece of Coll. Pierrepont's company, and Captaine Poulton, who had bene their captaine lieftenant, being dismist by the collonell, had a new commission under the governor for a company; when those souldiers of Coll. Pierrepont's not knowing what to doe, it was determin'd at a councell of warre of strangers, whereof Sr. William Fairfax was president, that they should list under Capt. Poulton. Sr. William and Sr. Thomas Fairfax, both of them, when the governor made scruple of passing by Coll. Pierrepont, assured him that they had intelligence given them in the north of his intents to deliver Nottingham to the king.

About this time Chadwick, the deputy recorder of Nottingham, and one of the committee, came to Nottingham, from whence he went away, when the souldiers were all drawne out, and all that were fearfull went to other places to secure themselves. This fellow, being sent of a message to the Lord Fairfax, generall of the north, had receiv'd letters of credence from the committee; but insteed of prosecuting their businesse, which was to have procur'd some force from my lord to helpe keepe the place, when my Lord Newcastle was dayly expected to come against it, he procured himself a commission for a regiment and a ioynt commission for himselfe and Coll. Pierrepont to be governors of the towne and castle. The last he kept very private; the first he bragg'd of as a thing, which, my lord, considering his greate abillities, would needs enforce upon him. In execution of this, he rays'd seven men, which were his meniall servants, went into Staffordshire, possest a papist's fine house, and fired it to runne away by the light, when the enemie was thirty miles of from it, and cheated the country of pay for I know not how many hundred men: for which, if he had not stollen away in the night, he had bene stoned; and as his wife past through the townes, she was in danger of her life, the weomen flinging scalding water after her. But before this, he came to Nottingham at the time the governor rays'd his regiment, and coming up to the castle behaving himselfe somewhat insolently, and casting out misterious words of his authority; the governor sett on a person to find out his meaning, to whom he shew'd a commission he had privately obtain'd some foure months before, for himselfe and Coll. Pierrepont to be ioynt governors of the county, towne, and castle; but neither now did he declare this to any of the committee, but only made some private braggs in the towne, that he would shortly come and take order for the safety of the place, and so went out of towne againe. The governor acquainted the committee with this, who seem'd to have greate indignation at it, and writt immediately to Mr. Millington, burgesse of the towne of Nottingham, to have the government of the castle confirm'd on Coll. Hutchinson by authority of parliament. Mr. Salisbury, their secretary, had alsoe put in the government of the towne, but Coll. Hutchinson caus'd him to put it out, and the governor, being inform'd that Coll. Pierrepont, at London, was labouring to obteine a regiment, and to be sent downe as governor of the towne, for the more speedy dispatch, sent his owne chaplaine with the committee's letters to London, and sent other letters of his owne to Sr. Thomas Fairfax, to acquaint him how Chadwick had abus'd my lord, his father, in the surreptitious procurement of this dormant commission, which, during all the time of danger, had layne asleepe in his pockett, and now was mention'd as a thing, whereby he might, when he would, take that place out of Coll. Hutchinson's hands, which he had with so many labours and dangers preserv'd, by God's blessing, for the parliament's service; he therefore desir'd a commission for the castle only.

Assoone as Mr. Allsop came to London, he was immediately dispatcht againe to Nottingham, with an order of parliament, dated November 20, 1643, for Coll. Hutchinson to be governor both of the towne and castle of Nottingham, with an ackowledgement of the good service he had done, in preserving the place, and Mr. Millington sayd he should likewise have a commission from the Earle of Essex. At Leicester, Mr. Allsop mett letters, directed to the governor, from Sr. Thomas Fairfax, wherein was a commission enclosed from his father, then generall of all the north, for the government of both the towne and castle. These coming both together, although the generall and the parliament had added the government of the towne to that of the castle, as more honor to him, Collonell Hutchinson was for many reasons much troubled at it, among which these were some of his considerations: — First, it was allmost all malignants, there being scarce a man left that was to be confided in, except those who were allready listed into the castle. Secondly, they were not so much open professed enemies, as close, hipocriticall, false-hearted people, amongst whom were some leading eminent men, so subtile in their malignity, that though their actions were most preiudiciall to the publick service, yet did they cast such cunning specious pretences over them of publick good, that even the most upright men of the garrison were often seduc'd by their faire colours. Thirdly, the religiousest and best people were so pragmaticall, that no act, nor scarcely word, could passe without being strictly arraign'd and iudg'd at the barre of every common souldier's discretion, and thereafter censur'd and exclaim'd at. Fourthly, the townsmen, being such as had liv'd free and plentifully of themselves, could not subiect themselves to government, but were so sawcy, so negligent, and so mutinous, that the most honorable person in the world, could expect nothing but scandall, reproach, and ingratitude, for the payment of his greatest meritt; and this the worthy governor found sufficiently from them. Lastly, the few good men, were so easily blowne up into causelesse suspicions and iealousies, and there were so many malignant whispers, dayly spread abroad, of every one in office, that it was impossible for any man, so worthily to demeane himselfe, but that a jealous misconstruction, of some inconsiderable trifle, was enough to blast the esteeme of all his actions, though never so pious and deserving, and of all things in the world, nothing was so contrary to the governor's cleare and generous heart, as a base and causelesse iealousie of him.[d] But notwith-

---

[b] In effect it will be seen that this gave him more uneasiness than his enemies, in the plenitude of power, were ever able to do.

standing these and many other reasons, such as the unprofitable expence of his time, estate, and labours, where he should reape neither glory nor advantage to himselfe, he consider'd that since he had rather declin'd then sought the enlargement of his power and command, and that the parliament and generalls had, at such a distance, bene moov'd, to put it unsought for, upon him, it was a worke which God call'd him to, and that the Lord, who sett him into the employment, would conquer all the difficulties. For the uniust thoughts or reports of men, or their ungratefull returns, he was as much above the griefe of that, as the vaineglorie of mutable popular applause. It was in all things his endeavour to do and deserve well, and then he never regarded the prayse or disprayse of men, for he knew that it was impossible to keepe on a constant careere of vertue and iustice, and to please all. It suffic'd him, for his inward peace, that he did not thrust himselfe into this and other employments, for any popular, ambitious, or advantageous interest of his owne, but that he was call'd of God, to the carrying on of the interest of truth, righteousnesse, and holinesse, and to the defence of his country, wherein he was faithfull, and found the Lord's protection and glorious presence, not only in all he did, but in all he suffer'd for him and from him.

Assoone as the governor had receiv'd his commission, he thought it his duty to put it in execution, and to arm and fortifie the towne; but my Lord Newcastle comming with all his forces into Nottingham and Derbyshire, the governor, by the advice of the committee, forbore to publish his new commissions, least the enemy, perceiving an intent to enlarge the garrison, should utterly destroy the towne, before they were able to defend it. At the reading of his commission in the committee chamber, Coll. Thornhagh shew'd much discontent, and was melancholly after it; whereupon the governor told him that as he had not sought that enlargement of command, so if any of them thought themselves abridg'd by it, or any other inconvenience to the publick service, he would resigne it, and never make use of his commission. The collonell answered, with much kindnesse, that he only wonder'd how the towne came to be added, when they only writt for the castle, but he was well satisfied with it, and forc'd himselfe to a seeming content, though the truth is he had some emulation, but not mallice, to the governor; and being of a nature a little iealous and easie to be wrought upon, the wicked enemies of the cause endeavour'd, what they could, to insinuate into him, and worke disaffection and division betweene these two gentlemen, who were the most faithfull, unbiassed, and zealous champions of the publick interest, in their country. But after Coll. Thornhagh had bene wrought up to declare discontent, there were many odde passages, by which others alsoe of the committee, who durst not before reveale their envious hearts, shew'd themselves displeas'd; whereupon, when they were all together, the governor, who hated secret heart-boylings, spoke to them, and told them, that their carriages, since the commission came to him, did manifest their dissatisfaction in it, and if they would deale ingenuously with him and let him know it, as he had not sought the additionall government of the towne, so he would never undertake it, if they had any iealousies that unknowne to them he procur'd it for himselfe, and closely sought after the enlargement of his owne power, by the abridgement of theirs, he assur'd them he was much mistaken, and that neither to Mr. Millington, nor Sr. Thomas Fairfax, had he mentioned aniething more then the government of the castle; for that of the towne he reioic'd not in it, but look'd upon it as a greate burthen; yet since it was conferr'd as an honor upon him, he should not decline serving them therein, that had thought him worthy of it except it gave distaste to any of those present; which if it did, he would esteem it an obligation, if they would but declare it before he publisht his commission. They all unanimously replied, they were not only contented, but exceedingly well pleased in it. Then the governor told them, if they were reall,[c] as they profess'd, he should expect their ready and free concurrence with him, in all affairs tending to the publick service, and in those courses he should applie himselfe to, for the good of the garrison: and againe earnestly desir'd them, if they had any dislikes, either of him personally, or of the alteration of the towne, out of the hands it had bene in the last yeare, that they would now freely declare it; for, as he should take it exceeding kindly of them to doe so at this time; so if, after he had undertaken the charge, there should be any thwarting or crossing of powers and commands betweene them, he should not beare it: for as he should not stand upon all punctuall niceties in his command, so he would not be abridg'd of the iust and lawfull power due to him in his place. They all unanimously answer'd, it was very fitt and iust he should have it, and they would rather endeavour to uphold him in it, then any way to retrench it.

---

[c] Reall — *Fr.* Vrais — sincere.

Now was my lord Newcastle's armie come into Derbyshire, and having taken some places there, nothing was expected at Derby and Nottingham but a siege; whereupon Captaine Palmer's troope was call'd away from Broxtowe, and all the rest of the horse was sent away into Leicestershire, except a few left for scouts, and assoone as they were gone my lord Newcastle's forces came and quarter'd allmost at the towne side, and in all the neere townes, and Hastings tooke this oppertunity to make a garrison att Willden ferrie.[f] By the mercy of God the enemie was restrein'd from comming up to the towne, though it lay soe open that they might have come in at their pleasure, and they not only miserably wasted and plunder'd the country all about, but one of them told a malignant, where he quarter'd, that that was their designe in comming to those parts to devoure the country. The regiments that were quarter'd the neerest to Nottingham were Sr. Marmaduke Langdale's and Collonell Dacre's who had bene a familiar acquaintance of Lieftenant-collonell Hutchinson's when he was in the north, and they loved each other as well as if they had bene brothers. Coll. Dacre sent a trumpett to desire Lieftenant-collonell Hutchinson to send him a safe convoy, that he might come and see him, which he acquainted the committee withall, and would have refus'd, but that the committee, thinking some good use might be made of it, perswaded him to suffer him to come; accordingly he sent him a tickett under his hand, promising him to come and goe safely; so upon Thursday morning he came with about eight more, to the top of the hill at Nottingham, and from thence sent his trumpett to the governor, as not willing to trust himselfe without his leave, to know whither he would permitt him and his two servants to come into his garrison to visitt the lieftenant-collonell. The governor sent him a tickett for them to come in, and though usually they kept no centinells in the towne, yett he sent downe some officers and souldiers to shew him a guard at his entrance. When the lieftenant-collonell came to him, he made many endearing expressions to him, how much he reioyc'd when his regiment was design'd for that place where he was, and how kind an affection he retein'd for him, notwithstanding their contrary engagements. Falling into further discourse of this, he sayd that if he could but be convinc'd that the king first entertein'd papists into his armie, and that the parliament had none in theirs, he would never fight more on his side. The lieftenant-collonell told him, he should easily be able to doe that. "Well," said Dacre, "you and I must have some discourse in private,[g] and I shall be glad if you can satisfie "me in that." Then the collonell desired some drinke might be sent out to two or three gentlemen, that stay'd on him upon the top of the hill; which the lieftenant-collonell hearing, sent some of his owne officers and souldiers on horseback, to fetch them downe, who comming in all together with them, the towne rose in an uproare and came to the governor with a high complaint, that I know not how many cavaliers were come into the towne, and rid up and downe armed threatning the people to their greate terror. This the governor thinking to be true, was vext at it, and sent downe an angrie letter to his brother, requiring him to send up the men that came last into the towne. Coll. Dacre hearing this, desir'd the lieftenant-collonell that the gentlemen might passe as they came, and offer'd to goe up himselfe and answer for the offence they had given. But the lieftenant-collonell presently carried them all out of towne, and came himselfe up to the castle, taking it something unkindly that his brother should write such a letter to him, and worse that others should have suspitions of him; so that though he had made a promise to dine the Saturday following at Dacre's quarters, yet, to take away all offence and suspitions, he resolv'd he would have no more meetings with him, and to that end writt him a very civill letter to excuse him not comming; and the governor writt another to excuse the mistake, whereupon the gentlemen were sent for to the castle. Dacre return'd complimentall answers to them both, and writt another to Captaine Poulton, entreating very earnestly the lieftenant-collonell and Captaine Poulton to come and dine with him on Wednesday, and desiring the governor he might have the honour to see him. These letters being communicated to the committee, they would faine have had the lieftenant-collonell to have gone, but he held firme to his resolution and would not; soe with their privity Captaine Poulton only went to excuse it, and two of White's officers were sent allong with him, with charge, if they could, to find out how the enemie lay. When Captaine Poulton came, the collonell entertein'd him very kindly, and expresst a greate deale of trouble that the lieftenant-collonell was not come, and tooke him aside and told him that the governor of Nottingham and his brother had now an opertunity whereby they might much advantage themselves, and doe the king excellent service. Captaine Poulton asking him how, he sayd, if the governor would deliver up the castle, he should be receiv'd into favour, have the castle confirm'd to him and his heires, have ten thousand pounds in mony, and be made the best lord in the country. If the lieftenant-collonell would deliver up the bridges, he should have three thousand pounds and what command he would aske in the army; and offer'd

---

[f] Willden Ferry was said before to be in the possession of the king's forces; but whether that was an anachronism, or that the thing now meant was an increase of the fortifications, and the placing a larger number of men there, it is clear that the garrison of this place did after this period become a greater annoyance to the parliament, and Lord Grey of Groby, who commanded in chief the associated forces of Leicester, Nottingham, &c. attacked and took it, assisted, as Whitelock says, p. 96, by Sir John Gell, who contrived to get the thanks of the parliament for his services herein, and for taking in Winkfield manor and Shelford manor; although some time after we find him besieging Winkfield manor in conjunction with Lord Denbigh, and Shelford manor was not taken till more than two years after by Colonel Hutchinson, acting under the command of Poyntz.

---

[g] Though this may appear somewhat improbable in a time when religious opinions have so little effect upon political ones, it was otherwise considered at that time; for nearly at this same juncture it is to be seen, in Whitelock, page 81, that Sir E. Deering did on this very account of there being so many papists and Irish rebels entertained in the king's army, quit him and come into the parliament, who admitted him to composition, being the first.

Captain Poulton two thousand pounds to effect this. The captaine told him, for his owne part nothing should buy him to such a villainy, and he believ'd the same of the governor and his brother, and made no question but they had before bene attempted. The collonell told him he did not this without authority, and thereupon pull'd a paper out of his pockett, wherein were words to this effect: "These are to authorize Coll. Dacre "to treate with Coll. Hutchinson and Lief-"tenant-collonell Hutchinson for the delivery "of Nottingham-castle and the bridges, and "to make them large promises, which shall "be performed by *W. Newcastle*." Having shew'd him this warrant, the collonell was very importunate with the captaine to acquaint the governor and his brother, and returne their answer to him upon the Friday after, when he offered to meete him, if they would, at a place call'd St. Ann's Well. Captaine Poulton told the governor and his brother, and they the committee, and shew'd them very disdainefull refusalls they all had written to the collonell, and sent him by a drumme, who was not long gone out of the garrison but another came from Coll. Dacre with a letter to Capt. Poulton, excusing himselfe that he could not stay in his quarters for him, according to appoyntment, but assuring him that what he had promis'd should be really perform'd. The governor's drumme, in the absence of Coll. Dacre, deliver'd the three letters to Langdale, who writt them back a good civill letter, that he believ'd my lord Newcastle and Dacre, out of familiarity and acquaintance with them, might have made these offers in kindnesse to them, but for his part he should otherwise persue the king's service.[k]

After this, the weather being pretty faire, and the moone shining at that time, the governor sent out a foote companie to beate up their quarters, and gave them a fierce alarum throughout, and tooke twelve horses out of one of their stables, which they sent home. In their returne, meeting a greate body of horse, they all at once discharg'd upon them, and kill'd some eight of them, as we were told in the morning. After this charge, the horse immediately retreated and would not stand another, and the next day remoov'd their quarters further from the garrison. Then the governor and committee sent for the Nottingham horse back from Leicester, and appoynted them to bring five hundred musketts which were come to Leicester for the governor. They came, but left the arms behind them. Besides this the collonell and all his regiment fell into disputes, that the governors of the parliament garrisons had no command of the horse that were quarter'd in their townes; and hereupon the governor was often prevented of many opportunities advantageable to the publick service, and much discourag'd to find such obstructions from the envious pride and humour of those who should have bene his assistants; but he bore with it as long as only himselfe suffer'd by it, and was willing for quietnesse sake to passe by many iniuries offer'd himselfe, till the publick service came to be infinitely preiudic'd by it. In the meane time he went on, as well as he could, through all difficulties, in the faithfull and active discharge of his trust. He call'd a committee and councell of warre, where it was put to the question and voted, that the towne should be fortified: then he applied himselfe to the thing, and call'd a full hall of all the towne, who declar'd sufficiently their disaffection to the parliament, but in such a subtile way as would have entrapt a lesse prudent person: but the governor overlookt many things that he saw, and made use of all the advantages they gave him, and did not manifest his resentments of aniething which they could cloake under a specious pretence, how disadvantageably soever it were design'd against the parliament interest. The whole towne unanimously voted that the place should be fortified, except Alderman Drury, and two or three that follow'd him: then the governor gave them encouraging promises of his protection and care over them, and endeavours to preserve them with his regiment, if they would assist in their owne defence. The towne being well satisfied, or at least seeming so, (for he treated them with that dexterity that they could not for shame openly oppose him, though he was not ignorant that the cavalier party curs'd him in their hearts, as the only obstacle in their greater desire of having declar'd themselves on the other side) with generall outward cheerefullnesse, in Christmas weeke, the workes were begun. About this time Sr. Thomas Fairfax being to march into Staffordshire, sent for some arms he had left in Nottingham-castle, and by the same convoy that went with them the governor gott his five hundred musketts brought home from Leicester. Sr. Thomas sent orders to the governor to send him all the horse in the garrison, but when the governor acquainted them with it, they would none of them obey him and goe, though Sr. Thomas sent twice very earnestly for them, but stay'd in Nottingham, where they would obey no order of the governor's, and by doing things that concern'd the garrison without and against his orders, they made a sad confusion and thwarting of powers, which the governor bore with in respect to Coll. Thornhagh, who did things not so much out of mallice in himselfe, as out of a little emulation, which did not destroy his kindnesse to the governor, and by the subtile instigation of Capt. White, who wrought upon his facillity to doe those things which his mallice and factious ambition prompted him to wish, but he durst not himselfe attempt. Although the horse would not obey Sr. Thomas Fairfax, it was not out of cowardice, for the men were very stout, and chearful in the service, but only had the generall fault of all the parliament partie, that they were not very obedient to commands, except they knew and approov'd their employment: they had no sooner refus'd Sr. Thomas, but my lord Grey sending for two troopes, they went to him to Melton, which he had begun to fortifie. The governor, notwithstanding these obstacles from secret enemies and refractory friends, carried on his business with good successe, and had many events according to his endeavours. Among the rest, his men encountering a party where Coll. Frecheville and Sr. Henry Humlack were in person, fought them, kill'd many of their men, and tooke Frecheville prisoner; but his captaine-lieftenant Jammot came to his rescue and freed him, though himselfe was taken in his stead and brought to Nottingham. Here, after he had bene sometime kept, he corrupted a souldier, who disguiz'd and led him out, and went away with him. The man being a Frenchman and a proper black man, some would needes report him to be Prince Rupert, and thereupon rays'd a greate clamor at the governor.

---

[k] This proposal for betraying the castle, together with the refusal, is mentioned by Whitelock, p. 79. Mr. Noble, who is mentioned in the preface as having published the lives of one hundred and thirty-six regicides, makes this remark, "that Colonel Hutchinson hereby lost a fine opportunity of "aggrandizing himself and his family, which doubtless they "must regret." That very discerning gentleman is here informed that the Editor of this work, who is the only representative of Colonel Hutchinson in these kingdoms, is much more proud of counting amongst his ancestors so firm and faithful a patriot than the most illustrious of traitors.

But before his escape, upon the fifteenth of January intelligence was brought that all the forces in Newark were marcht on a designe upon Sleeford in Lincolneshire. The governor not trusting that pretence, commanded all the souldiers and townsmen to sitt up that night and expect them; and the next morning, being Tuesday, two of his intelligencers came and brought him word very early that the designe was against Nottingham. After them the horse scouts came in with the news of their approach, the enemie's scouts and they having fir'd upon each other. Hereupon a strong alarum was given throughout the garrison, and a foote company sent down from the castle to the workes, and the horse were there sett with them, to dispute the enemie's entrance into the towne; but the horse perceiving the enemie's body to be a greate one, retreated to the castle, and the foote seeing them gone, and none of the townsmen come forth to their assistance, made alsoe an orderly retreate back to the castle, in which there was not a man lost nor wounded. The workes being imperfect and quitted, were easily enter'd, though the cannon that play'd upon them from the castle tooke of wholly the second file of musketeers that entered the gates. The first was led up by Lieft. Coll. Cartwright, who two dayes before had sent to the governor for a protection to come in and lay downe armes. The enemie being enter'd, possest themselves of St. Peter's Church and certeine houses neere the castle, from whence they shott into the castle-yard and wounded one man and killed another, which was all the hurt that was done our men that day.

The governor was very angrie with the horse for comming up so suddenly, and stirr'd them up to such a generous shame, that they dismounted, and all tooke musketts to serve as foote, with which they did so very good service, that they exceeding well regain'd their reputations. Having taken foote armes, the governor sent one of his owne companies with part of them, and they beate the cavaliers out of the nearest lanes and houses, which they had possest, and so made a safe way for the rest to sally out and retreate, as there should be occasion.

When this was done, which was about noone, the governor sent out all the rest of the horse and foote, to beate them out of the towne. Sr. Charles Lucas, who was the chiefe commander of all the forces there, had prepar'd a letter to send up to the governor to demand of him the castle; or if he would not deliver it, that then he should send downe the maior and aldermen, threat'ning that, if they came not immediately, he would sack, and burne the towne. There were, at that time, above a thousand cavaliers in the towne, and as many in a bodie without the towne, to have beaten of Derby and Leicester forces, if they should have made any attempt to come in, to the assistance of their friends in Nottingham. On the other side the Trent, were all the forces Mr. Hastings could bring out, from his owne garrison and Belvoir and Wiverton, to force the bridges. All the cavalier forces, that were about the towne, were about three thousand. When Sir Charles Lucas had written his letter, he could find none that would undertake to carry it to the castle, whereupon they tooke the maior's wife, and with threats, compell'd her to undertake it; but iust as she went out of the house from them, she heard an outcrie, that "the round-"heads were sallying forth," whereupon she flung down their letter and ran away; and they ran as fast, from foure hundred souldiers, who came furiously upon them out of the castle, and surpriz'd them, while they were secure the castle would not have made so bold an attempt. But the governor's men chased them from streete to streete, till they had clear'd the towne of them, who runne away confusedly; the first that went out shott their pistolls into the thatcht houses to have fired them, but by the mercy of God neither that, nor other endeavours they shew'd to have fired the towne, as they were commanded, tooke effect. Betweene thirty and forty of them were killed in the streetes, fourscore were taken prisoners, and abundance of armes were gather'd up, which the men flung away in hast, as they run; but they put some fire into a hay barne and hay mowes, and all other combustible things they could discerne in their hast, but by God's mercy the towne notwithstanding was preserv'd from burning.

Their horse fac'd the towne in a vally where their reserve stood, while their foote marcht away, till towards evening, and then they all drew of. Many of them died in their returne, and were found dead in the woods and in the townes they past through. Many of them, discourag'd with this service, ran away, and many of their horses were quite spoyl'd: for two miles they left a greate track of blood, which froze as it fell upon the snow, for it was such bitter weather that the foote had waded allmost to the middle in snow as they came, and were so numbed with cold when they came into the towne, that they were faine to be rubbed to get life in them, and in that condition, were more eager of fires and warm meate then of plunder, which sav'd many men's goods, and their security, that did not believe an enemie who had unhandsomely, to speak truth, suffer'd them to enter the towne without any dispute, would have durst, at such greate odds, to have sett upon driving them out. Indeed no one can believe, but those that saw that day, what a strange ebb and flow of courage and cowardize there was in both parties that day. The cavaliers marcht in with such terror to the garrison, and such gallantry, that they startled not when one of their leading files fell before them all at once, but marcht boldly over the dead bodies of their friends, under their enemies cannon, and carried such valliant dreadfullnesse about them, as made very courageous stout men recoyle. Our horse, who ran away frighted at the sight of their foes, when they had brest-workes before them, and the advantage of freshnesse, to beate back assaylants, allready vanquisht with the sharpnesse of the cold and a killing march, within three or four howers, as men that thought nothing too greate for them, return'd fiercely upon the same men, after their refreshment, when they were enter'd into defensible houses. If it were a romance, one should say after the successe, that the heroes did it out of excesse of gallantry, that they might the better signalize their vallour, upon a foe who was not vanquisht to their hands by the inclemency of the season; but wee are relating wonders of Providence, and must record this as such a one as is not to be conceiv'd, but by those who saw and shar'd in it; it was indeed a greate instruction, that the best and highest courages are but the beames of the Almighty; and when he withholds his influence, the brave turne cowards, feare unnerves the most mighty, makes the most generous base, and greate men to doe those things they blush to thinke on; when God againe inspires, the fearefull and the feeble see no dangers, believe no difficulties, and carry on attempts whose very thoughts would, at another time, shiver their ioynts like agues. The events of this day humbled the pride of many of our stout men, and made them after more carefully seeke God, as well to inspire as prosper their vallour; and the governor's handsome reproaches of their faults, with shewing them the way to repaire, retriev'd their stragling spirits, and animated them to very wonderfull and commendable actions.

The governor would not let his men persue the reare, but thought they might, in the night, have compleated their dayes worke, if they had fallen into the enemie's quarters, which he gave orders to the horse to doe, but Coll. Thornhagh would not obey them, because they came from him, and so lost a greate opertunity, and contented himselfe with praysing God for the greate deliverance of the day, wherein there was not one townsman that came in to the assistance of the souldiers.

The next day, the governor call'd the towne together, represented to them the mercie of God and the mallice of their enemies, who, without regard of any friends they had among them, came purposely to fire the towne, which God alone preserv'd, who having shew'd them their danger, requir'd they should be no longer slothfull in their owne defence, but to take armes to preserve their famelies and houses. He propounded to them, that if they would soe doe, they should chuse their owne captaines. They considering the iust reasons and motives with which he urg'd them, at length resolv'd to ioyne in their owne defence and chose four captaines; but the captaines refusing, the souldiers that day went home unlisted, yett by the governor's dexterity in managing them, he at last brought foure hundred, whereof more then half were high malignants, to list themselves under one Mr. Coates, a minister, an honest godly man[i], and Mr. Mason[k], an atturney, a greate cavalier, but a reserv'd silent man, who, for an austere knitt of his brow, and a grave severe countenance, had the reputation of a wise man, but was knowne to be disaffected to the parliament, though cunning enough not to doe aniething that might expose him to sequestration. Into these men's hands he put armes, and so order'd them, that at the last they grew fiercer in the service then those who were uprightly honest..

---

[i] It appears from this that Mr. Palmer, mentioned before, and who will be mention'd more than once in the sequel, was not quite singular in taking up arms notwithstanding his function. The famous preacher Hugh Peters, acted as an officer of horse. It was in those days common to quote the expression, that the saints should have the praises of God in their mouths, and a two-edged sword in their hands!

[k] The same whom, when put into confinement at the castle, the governor invited to his table.

The next month the Lord Chaworth sent a letter to the governor, acquainting him that he was sick, and desir'd a protection to come and remain at his owne house, in order to making his peace with the parliament, which protection the governor gave him.

The governor had acquainted the parliament with the late successes, whereupon they order'd a thousand pounds to be sent to the garrison out of the sequestrations of London, and the excise of the towne to goe to the payment of the garrison; but through Mr. Millington's negligent prosecution, the thousand pounds never came.[1]

The governor went on againe successfully in his employment, and began to endeare himselfe to all the towne as well as the souldiery, which awak'ning White's sleeping envie, he cast new plotts to disturbe him; and first made a motion to send to London for two hundred souldiers: to which the governor answer'd—If they were honest, there were men enough to keep the garrison; if they were not, to call in other forces was but to baite their treachery with a greater prize; and that to send for more force, while they had so slender maintenance for these, was to encrease trouble without any benefitt.

---

[1] Mentioned by Whitelock as *given.*

The same afternoone the committee sent the governor a warrant to be signed, which was before subscrib'd by foure of them, White in the front. The warrant was to this effect:

To Mr. Hooper, *Engineer of the Garrison of Nottingham.*

"You are hereby requir'd to make "your present appearance to this committee, "there to give an account, what you have "done, about the workes of the towne, and "how farre you have proceeded in them; "how, and in what manner, and by what time "you intend to finish them; and what ma-"terialls are needfull for the finishing of "them, there being imminent danger to the "garrison."

Assoone as the governor receiv'd the warrant he tooke the engineer with him, and went to the committee, to whom, sayd he, "Gen-"tlemen, I receiv'd iust now such a strange "warrant from you, that I can impute it "to nothing, but a pick't occasion of quarrell. "If you desire to question aniething in the "fortifying of the towne, I have not only

" brought the engineer, but am here myselfe " to answer it: if there be mony in his hands, " let him give you an account of it; but concerning the fortifications, I conceive he is " only to be accountable to me; therefore " why this warrant should be made, I cannot " tell, unlesse purposely to affront me; as for " that imminent danger you pretend, it is utterly unknowne to me, and if there be any, " I ought to have been acquainted with it, and " desire now to understand it." They answer'd. "Were they not in dayly perill?" He replied, " That was certeine, but at this " time none more imminent than usually, that " he knew of; and further desir'd them, if he " had bene negligent of those things, which " conduc'd to the safety of the towne, that " they would article against him, whatever " they could accuse him of; if he had done " nothing worthy of blame, he tooke it exceeding ill, to be thus thwarted and affronted in his iust and lawfull command." Upon replies and debate, White sayd, " If " Hooper did not render them an account of " his workes, they would clap him by the " heeles." Whereupon the governor, addressing to him only, told him, " That from the " first opening of his commission, he had " manifested his discontent, and that he had " taken notice of his secret endeavours to

" oppose, and was glad the humour was now " so ripe as to vent itselfe; that for the time " to come, since he saw his condiscentions " did but encourage them to wrest all things " from him, and to question all his dues, he " would now expect that full observance from " them all, that was due from the officers of " a garrison to the governor; that he expected " the horse should receive orders from him, " and that he would no more put up such affronts and neglects as he had that very day " receiv'd, when calling for a muster of the " horse to have bene sent out upon a very " advantageable designe, a whole troope, unknowne to him, was, by the committee, sent " out for hay, whereby that opertunity was " lost; he told them further, protections " charging officers and souldiers to forbeare " plunder, ought to be given only by him " upon their certificate, and not by them: " and," sayd he, " Gentlemen, I receiv'd that " affront from you lately, which no governor " in the world, but myself, would have put up " with; when at a publick councell of warre, " among all the officers, enough to have caus'd " a mutinie, it was propounded how farre my " command extended, and question'd whither " I could command horse in the garrison? " And all of you, at a councell of warre, order'd the booty taken should be at the dis-

" posal of the chiefe officer that went out; so " that if a corporall went out, he must dispose " the booty, which in all garrisons is the go" vernor's right to doe."

While they were in this dispute, the lieftenant collonell came in, and seconded his brother; and after some smart disputes on both sides, they parted for that night.

The next morning the committee sent for the governor, who coming to them, one of them drew a paper out of his pockett, and offer'd some propositions to the governor; which were, first, that the dispute betweene them might be silenc'd and kept private; next, that he would ioyne with them, in a letter to Mr. Millington, to desire him to get the question decided by the close committee, What were the severall powers of a governor, and a committee? And, lastly, that he would draw up what he conceived his power to be. To this the governor replied, that for silencing the thing, he was very willing to doe it; for sending to the close committee, he very well understood his owne power, and if they question'd it, they might send whither they pleas'd, to satisfie themselves; for setting downe the particulars, wherein he conceiv'd his power to consist, when he did aniething which they thought belong'd not to him, let them call him to question where they pleas'd, and he should be ready to give an account of his actions, but he would not make himselfe so ridiculous, as to send for satisfaction in unquestionable things; yet to inform them, if any of them pleas'd, he would goe allong with them, either to my Lord of Essex, or my Lord Fairfax, to have the power of a governor decided. They told him the generalls understood not the power of a committee as the parliament, and therefore writt a letter to Mr. Millington with extraordinary commendations of the governor, yet desiring to know the extent of his power, and shew'd it to him. He told them, if they believ'd those things they writt of him, he wondered whence all this discontent should arise, for he appeal'd to them all, whether, ever since he undertooke the government, he had usurp'd any command over them, or done so much as the least inconsiderable act without acquainting them, and receiving their approbation; and what should ayle them, he could not imagine, unless they were discontented at his being made governor; which if they were, they might thank themselves, who put it upon him, when he receiv'd nothing but trouble, expence, and danger in it. They all acknowledg'd his appeale true, and sayd they had desir'd his establishment in the government of the castle, as the man they esteem'd most worthy of it and most fitt for it. He told them, if the addition of the towne grieved them, that was to be transferr'd on the parliament, who without his seeking had added that to him. One of them replied, they had so worthy an opinion of him, that they wish'd the assessing of the country too might be only put into his power. He sayd, he should have bene oblig'd to them had this proceeded from aniething but discontent, and that if without his owne seeking he should be honour'd with that trust, as he was with this, he should endeavour to discharge it faithfully; but he rather desir'd it might continue in the hands it was, and if he were negligent to fetch in those assessments, which were given him, then let the blame lie on him; but for rating and assessing the townes, those who were acquainted with the country were fittest for it; and thus for the present it rested.

The designe they prevented by sending out the troope unknowne to him, was the saving the towne of Southwell from being made a garrison for the king; which the towne being unwilling to, sent word to the governor, that if he would come and assist them, they would ioyne with him to beate out some souldiers that had intent to fortefie themselves there; but the horse, by reason of their employment, failing those two dayes, and extraordinary ill weather comming after, that opertunity was lost: this was about the middle of February. Captaine White continued still afterwards to prevent all designes, whose events might any way have conduc'd to the governor's honour, not weighing what hinderance it was to the publick service, which was a greate vexation to the governor; but his courage was above their mallice, and his zeale to the service carried him vigorously on, in all things which he could accomplish by his owne officers and souldiers, who were more obedient to him; and, although this was the exercise of his patience, yet was it alsoe a spurre to his diligence, and made his fidellity more illustrious, and kept him more in waiting upon God, and more strict in the watch over all his actions, because he knew how all his enemies watcht for his fall.

Upon the eleventh of February, Cornett Palmer, who had bene prisoner at Newark, came home and told the governor that he had discover'd in his prison a designe intended about this time to surprize the bridge by Hacker's souldiers, who were to come in the habitt of markett people the next Saturday. This intelligence was seconded, whereupon the governor sent his officers to command all the bridge souldiers to keepe in their quarters that day: he commanded alsoe all the horse in the towne to be ready to goe out upon the first sound of the trumpett, and gave orders for all the drums in the garrison to beate betimes in the morning; the lieftenant collonell sett out a guard beyond the bridge, with charge strictly to examine all passengers. About eleven of the clock on Saturday, the 17th of February, they tooke twelve of them[m] upon the bridges, disguiz'd like markett men and woemen, with pistolls, long knives, hatchetts, daggers, and greate pieces of iron about them, whereupon they sent and acquainted the governor, who being himselfe on horseback at the workes, went immediately downe to the bridge, and commanded all the horse to come away and pursue them, but the horse commanders, being allwayes slow in obeying his commands, came not till the enemie's foote beyond the bridge, perceiving their fellowes were taken upon the bridge, retir'd and gott safe of, only nine who were to have assassinated these at the bridge, and advanct forwarder then the rest, for that purpose, were overtaken, and with their captaine leapt into the Trent, to have sav'd themselves, of whom our men pluckt foure out of the water, five were drown'd, and the captaine swom to shore on the other side. The governor was in doubt whether these men taken in disguizes were to be releas'd as prisoners of warre, or executed as spies and assassines by martiall law; but though he had not carr'd if the bridge-souldiers had turn'd them into the Trent when they tooke them, he afterwards releas'd them all upon exchange, except one Slater, a souldier of his owne that had runne away to the enemie, and this day was taken coming into the towne, with a mountero[n] pull'd close about his face, but denied that he was of the designe; yet after, upon triall at a court-martiall, he was condemn'd and executed. The governor had sent out some horse and foote, to drive the grounds at the enemie's garrison at Shelford, which they did, and from under the very workes from which the enemie shott at them, brought away many beasts and horses, that belong'd to the garrison, and brought them up into the castle-yard. The governor being then in the committee chamber, told them it was fitt the souldiers should have a reward, whereupon it was order'd to give them six pounds, and the governor told the souldiers the committee had assign'd them a reward; but when they came to receive it, Salisbury, the treasurer, tith'd it out, and gave the souldiers groates apiece, and sixpence apiece to the officers, which in all came but to forty shillings and odde money; which the souldiers, being madded at, flung back his mony, and desir'd a councell of warre, to doe them right; which the governor assented to, and the next day the businesse being heard at a full councell of all the officers of the garrison, it was determin'd by the unanimous vote of all but Mr. Salisbury, that in regard the enemie shott at them when they tooke the bootie, it did of right belong to the souldiers that fought for it, and so they had it; whereupon Salisbury flung away from the board in a greate huffe and muttering, for which the governor rebuk'd him, and told him such carriage ought not to be suffer'd in him, who, as an officer, ought to have more respect to the place and them that sate there. After this, about eighteen of the lieftenant collonell's men went out and mett twenty-five men in armes, betweene them there was a brooke, the bridge men call'd to them, and ask'd of what side they were, and perceiving they were cavaliers, told them, after some little defies between them, that though the number was unequall, they would fight with them; and passing over the brooke, charged them, put them to flight, kill'd two of them, tooke eight prisoners and twelve of their horses. Upon examination they were found to be northerne gentlemen, who having listed themselves in the prince's owne troope, after the death of Sr. Thomas Biron that commanded under the prince, were assign'd to my Lord Wentworth, at which being discontented, they were now returning into their owne country, being allmost all of them gentlemen. Sir Richard Biron, for his brother's memory, exchang'd them for prisoners of Nottingham, taken when the towne was first surpriz'd.

---

[m] Hacker's souldiers.

---

[n] A kind of cap so called.

In the end of this month, on the fast day, the nationall covenant was taken, with a greate solemnity, both by the souldiers and inhabitants, men and women,[o] of the garrison. This day, unexpectedly, came Sir Edward Hartup, with a thousand horse of Leicester and Derby, to which the governor added betweene five and six hundred, Sr. Edward being appoynted to command the party, should have gone with them to take Muscam Bridges, at Newark, before which place Sr. John Meldrum was now come, with about seven thousand men, and had lay'd siege to it. The horse of Newark, assoone as the parliament's forces came, made an escape over Muscam Bridge, which Sr. Ed-

[o] Nota bene.

ward Hartup, having more mind to drinke then fight, lingring a day at Nottingham, and then marching to no purpose against it, lost his opertunity of taking; yet God, by a providence, gave it up with 200 men that kept it to the parliament's forces, who had they then persued their successe, they might have carried the towne too, but it was not God's time then to deliver the country of that pernitious enemie. The horse that were escaped out of Newark, went into all their garrisons in the Vale and Derbieshire, and gather'd up all the force they could make, to about the number of two thousand, and with these they came and quarter'd neere Nottingham; themselves and the country giving out that they were about four thousand.

There was a fast kept at Nottingham, to seeke God for his presence with our armies, and before the first sermon was ended, the enemies horse came to the towne-side and gave a strong alarum, and continued facing the towne till night, at which time they return'd to their quarters, and those horse that were in the garrison following their reare, glean'd up two lieftenants and two or three other officers: the next day the body march'd iust by the town-side, and so past over the river at Wilden Ferry. After they were gone from about Nottingham, the governor went downe to the Leager, at Newark, where Sr. John Meldrum had made all things ready for a generall assault of the towne; but at a councell of warre that was call'd in the field, it was determin'd that it should not then be, whereupon the governor of Nottingham return'd to his garrison; who comming to take his leave of Sr. John Meldrum, Sr. John entreated him that he would returne againe and be among them as much as he could, making a sad complaint of the envying, heart-burnings, and dissentions that were among the severall commanders, so that he had much adoe to hold them together, and had greate need of men of moderation and prudence, to assist him, and to helpe to meditate among them. The forces that Sr. John Meldrum commanded before this towne, were gather'd out of severall associated counties, and the commanders so emulous of one another, and so refractory to commands, and so peeking in all punctillios of superiority, that it gall'd the poor old gentleman to the heart, who, having commanded abroad, and bene us'd to deale with Officers that understood the discipline of warre, was confounded among those who knew not how to obey any orders, but disputed all his commands, and lost their time and honor in a fruitlesse expedition, through their vaine contentions; whereas had they ioyn'd in the assault, then when he would have made it, they might probably have carried the towne, but missing that opertunity, they came of at last with loss and dishonor. While the governor was at the Leaguer, Sr. John Meldrum told him, that Coll. Pierrepont had bene with him, to get his hand to a paper, which should have testified, that the government of Nottingham did of right belong to him; but Sr. John answer'd he could not testifie any such thing, for it was his owne act to conferre that government, where now it was; with which Coll. Pierrepont seem'd very well satisfied at that time. When he could not prevaile in this, he desir'd Sr. John to sett his hand to another paper, which should have certified, that in all things he had approov'd himselfe most firme and faithfull to the service of the parliament. Sr. John said he would not iniure him so much as to make any such certificate, of a thing not call'd into question; but if there should be any doubt of it, he should be ready to doe him all right. Coll. Pierrepont moreover went to the governor's souldiers, that had formerly bene of his regiment, and giving them twenty shillings to drinke, told them he was to be governor of the towne, and would shortly come among them.

Sr. Edward Hartup was sent with the

party of horse he before had at Muscam bridge, to persue those that were gone out of Newark, and fight with them and hinder their ioyning with Prince Rupert, who was expected to come to rayse the siege; and when Sr. Edward came into Leicestershire the whole country rose with him, and the governor of Leicester brought out foote and cannon to assist him. His forlorne hope being of the Nottingham horse, charged the enemie's forlorne hope and routed them, and then fell into their body of foote, which they had drain'd out of their little garrisons and routed them alsoe, and if Sr. Edward Hartup would have come on with his body, they had all bene cut off; but the knight would not stirre, but commanded the forlorne hope to retreate, who had slaine and taken many prisoners of the enemie, and among them Jammot, that had lately made his escape out of Nottingham-castle. The enemie perceiving Sr. Edward would not hurt them, rallied againe and ioyn'd with Prince Rupert; of whom assoone as Sr. Edward had intelligence, he went back to Newark with such shamefull hast that he quitted Melton with all the prisoners the forlorne hope had lately taken. The Leicester forces, discourag'd at this carriage, return'd to their garrisons and marcht no more with him. [p]

---

[p] In Whitelock's memoirs, p. 85, there is an account of

The governor of Nottingham kept out spies upon the enemie's motions, and sent word to the Leaguer, but the gentlemen there were so over-confident, they would not believe any force could come to rayse their siege. At length, the governor of Nottingham being there himselfe, word was brought Prince Rupert was come to Ashby, wherefore he, fearing some attempt upon his garrison, to divert the forces at the siege, return'd home with his brother to looke to their charge. It was late upon Wednesday night when the governor came home, and was certeinely inform'd that Prince Rupert was, that afternoone, marcht by to rayse the siege, with about six thousand men. Immediately the governor sent two men, excellently well mounted upon his owne horses, to carry the alarum to Sr. John Meldrum, who by two of the clock on Thursday morning deliver'd him their letters, and he presently prepar'd to fight with the prince, who about nine or ten of the clock came. Sr. John had drawne all

---

this relief, or raising the siege of Newark, agreeing with Mrs. Hutchinson's, except that it is not quite so particular, and omits the account of what befel Col. Thornhagh. Whitelock attributes to the misconduct of Sir. E. Hartup and Col. Bingley Prince Rupert's coming with his forces entire to the place, and informs us that a court-martial was directed to decide upon their conduct, but does not state what their decision was.

his ordnance into the walls of a ruin'd house, call'd the spittle, and the horse were first to charge the enemie. Coll. Thornhagh and Maior Rossiter gave them a very brave charge, routed those whom they first encounter'd and tooke prisoners Maior-generall Gerrard and others, and, had they bene seconded by the rest of the horse, had utterly defeated the prince's army; but the Lincolneshire troopes fled away before they ever charged, and left Coll. Thornhagh engaged, with only his owne horse, in the prince's whole body, where, they say, he charged the prince himselfe, and made his way and pass'd very gallantly through the whole army, with a greate deale of honor, and two desperate wounds, one in the arme, the other in the belly. After the Lincolneshire horse were run away, Sr. John Meldrum sent the Derby horse and the Nottingham foote, with two companies of Coll. King's to keepe Muscam bridge, and Molanus, the Derbieshire Maior, to be their commander. Coll. Thornhagh was sent home in a waggon to Nottingham. Sr. John himselfe, with the few horse and dragoones that were left of Nottingham and Derby, being about five hundred, went into the spittle, to his foote. The prince lost more then Sr. John in the skirmish, but assoone as ever Sr. John had betaken himselfe to the spittle, the prince sent horse and foote betweene him and Muscam bridge.[q] The horse that were left there to guard the foote ran every man away, so that they had not a horse left to fetch them any provision. The maior that commanded them told them that he would goe to the next towne to buy them some bread, and with that pretence came away and never saw them more. The enemie was endeavouring to make a passage over the river, to come on the other side of them and encompasse them, which when they saw and consider'd that they had no order what to doe, nor bread for one meale, nor bullett more then their musketts were loaded withall, and that it was impossible for them to come of, if they stay'd till the enemie enclos'd them, and further discovering that their friends in the spittle were in parlee, they conceiv'd it their best way to come home, which they plotted so to doe that the enemie might not perceive it till they were out of their reach; so leaving lighted matches and squibs laid at certeine distances, to deceive the enemie, they came safe home; but within lesse than halfe an hour after they were gone the enemie came on the other side, and not missing them till morning, by reason of the squibbs, they pursued them not, by which meanes they came safe to Nottingham; which was a very seasonable mercy, for had they stay'd the choicest armes in the garrison had béne lost, and the best and most confiding souldiers disarm'd: for Sr. John agreed upon articles with the prince, to deliver up the spittle wherein he lay, with all the musketts, ordinance, and ammunition, in it; the foote souldiers to march away with colours flying, swords and pikes, the horsemen with their horse and swords, and all the commanders with their pistolls: but the prince broke all these conditions, and pillaged them to their shirts, and sent many captaines quite naked away.

---

[q] Rapin gives a different account of this matter, but to those who know or observe the situation of the places, Mrs. Hutchinson's will appear to be the true one. Besides Muscam bridge there was a bridge of boats, which enabled the prince's forces to surround the guard left at Muscam bridge: this guard, instead of *deserting*, as Rapin says of it, was deserted and sacrificed for want of support: the road still lay open to Lincoln, but probably Prince Rupert was too strong and too active to let the besiegers escape any way unless they had acted with better accord amongst themselves.

The committee of Nottingham now began againe to mutter at the governor, but he would not take notice of it, but applied himselfe to take care for the securing of his towne, where the enemie now dayly threat'ned to come. So he floted the medowes on the Line side, where there was no fortification, and rays'd a fort in the middst of the medowes, to preserve the flote, and fortified the Trent bridges more strongly, and, expecting the enemie every hower, was forc'd to let the worke goe on all the Lord's day. When, calling the captaines together, to consult the best way of preparing for their defence, Mason, the new towne captaine, tooke this time to revive the old mutiny, and said the townsmen would not stand to their workes except the ordinance were drawne downe from the castle to the towne workes: the governor rebuking him for this unseasonable insolence, he and his men were, all the time of this greate exigence, so backward that they were rather an obstruction then assistance, and there was much adoe to get them either to the workes or the guards. Indeed such a blow was given to the parliament interest, in all these parts, that it might well discourage the ill-affected, when even the most zealous were cast downe and gave all for lost: but the governor, who in no occasion ever lett his courage fall, but, when things were at the lowest, recollected all his force, that his owne despondency might not contribute aniething to his mallicious fortune, at this time animated all the honest men, and exprest such vigor and cheerefullnesse, and such stedfast resolution, as disappoynted all the mallignants of their hopes. The wives, children, and servants, of such as were in the enemie's garrisons and armies, he thought it not safe to suffer any longer in the towne, in such a time of danger, and therefore commanded them all to depart, not sparing even some of his owne relations; but though this was done by the concurrence of the whole committee, yet some of them, who were loath the towne should loose any that wisht ill to the governor and his undertakings, privately, without his consent or knowledge, brought back severall persons that were very dangerous to the place.

And now, upon the twenty-fifth day of March, a letter was brought to the governor from all the commissioners at Newark, telling him that the parliament's forces had quitt Gainsborough, Lincolne, and Sleeforth, and that the prince intended to advance against Nottingham, and to fire the towne, if he did not immediately throw downe the workes, which if he should not doe, the world would then take notice of him as the only ruine of his native country. To which the governor return'd them answer, that as he never engag'd himselfe in this service, with respect to the successe or actions of other places, so though the whole kingdome were quitt besides this towne, yet he would maintaine it so long as he was able, and he trusted that God would preserve it in his hands; but if it perish'd, he was resolv'd to bury himselfe in the ruines of it, being confident that God would after vindicate him to have been a defender, and not a destroyer of his country. The copie of the letter which the Newark commissioners sent to the governor, was sent to one Francis Cooke, a mallignant inhabitant of the towne, subscribed with all the commissioners hands, and desiring him to communicate it to the whole towne. The governor having taken what care he could at home, sent immediately to the parliament and to the Earle of Essex, acquainting them with the desperate condition of the place, and desiring they would send him seasonable reliefe, if the prince should besiege him, promising to employ his utmost endeavor to hold it for them, or to loose himselfe with it. My lord generall return'd a very civill encouraging letter, and now the prince, two dayes after the letter, was advanc'd within three miles of Nottingham, when it pleased God to divert him from coming against the towne by letters which were brought him from Oxford, which occasion'd his hasty returne into the south, without any attempt upon the place, which by God's mercy was thus deliver'd from this threatning danger. However their enemies at Newark, by the late successe, were vere much exalted, and by the quitting of so many parliament garrisons about them, encreas'd in power, and left at leisure to turne all their designes against Nottingham, which being so infirme within itselfe, the governor had a very difficult taske to preserve it, while the disaffected, who were subtile, did not clearely declare themselves, but watcht all opertunities to worke the governor's disturbance, by fomenting the ill humours of the factious committee men and priests; for they now tooke occasion to fall in with them, upon the governor's release of his chiefe cannoneers out of prison, into which he, by the instigation of the ministers and the godly people, whom they animated allmost to mutiny, had put them, for separating from the public worship, and keeping little conventicles in their owne chamber. It was with some reluctancy he had committed them, for the men, though of different iudgments in matter of worship, were otherwise honest, peaceable, and very zealous and faithfull to the cause; but the ministers were so unable to suffer their separation and spreading of their opinions, that the governor was forc'd to commit them; yet when this greate danger was, he thought it not prudent to keepe them discontented and then employ them, and therefore sett them at liberty, for which there was a greate outcry against him as a favourer of separatists.[r]

---

[r] This being the first time that a disunion in religion among those of the parliament's party has been plainly named, it is proper here to state, that in the outset all those sects, which have since taken so many various names, joined their forces to repel the encroachments of the *Prelates*,—it would not be fair to say of the *Church of England*, whose characteristic is moderation itself,—but when they had almost crushed the Episcopalians, the Presbyterian ministers began to rise pre-eminent in power, and to shew that though they had changed the name, they by no means intended to diminish the dominion of the hierarchy. There are preserved in Whitelock two speeches, one of his own and one of Selden's on this subject. To resist this usurpation there arose a very powerful party or faction under the name of Independents, under whose banner enlisted all who desired liberty of conscience, of whatever particular persuasion they might be; and, amongst others, most naturally all such as wished to see the Church of England restored to her purity, and redeemed from her servility and subserviency to the usurpations of the crown; but whose hopes would have been totally destroyed if Presbytery obtained a full and firm establishment. It is extraordinary that almost all the historians put the cause for the effect, and suggest that many members of the parliament, and at the head of them Cromwell, raised this faction to obtain their own exaltation; whereas intolerancy raised it in the nation at large, and especially in the army, and Cromwell availed himself of it when raised. In a a scarce book, called Anglia Rediviva, or the Success of the Army under Fairfax, written by Joshua Sprigge, he says, "the "army was, what by example and justice, kept in good order "both respectively to itself and the country: there were many "of them differing in opinion, yet not in action nor business; "they all agreed to preserve the kingdom; they prospered

It will not be amisse, in this place, to carry on the parliament story, that we may

---

"in their unity more than uniformity, and whatever their "opinions were, they plundered none with them, they be- "trayed none with them, nor disobeyed the state with them, and "they were more visibly pious and peaceable in their opinions "than many we call orthodox." Let the blame of all the misfortunes that flowed from it rest with those who gave disturbance to such men, not to those who screened them from persecution.

The chief of these cannoneers was that Lawrence Colin mentioned in a former note, page 202. He continued at Nottingham after all the wars were over, but being persecuted on account of his religion, applied to Cromwell for protection, and was effectually screened by him from his persecutors; he lived to more than ninety years; his descendants rose to opulence, and one of them founded a very handsome hospital. This family united themselves to that of Langford, and both being molested on the score of nonconformity, were peculiarly protected by James the Second, and stood stedfastly by him at the revolution, at which time he got many sectaries to join the catholics, and make common cause against the church of England. By this turn of events and opinions Langford Colin, Esq. before mentioned, came to be the head of the country, Jacobite, or anti-revolutionist party, while the Plumtres and Hutchinsons embraced the Hanover or Whig party, as mentioned in the note, page 202, just spoken of.

Since the publication of the first edition, there has appeared a very candid critique of this work in the Annual Review for 1806, containing the following remark. "It may be mention- "ed as an additional proof of Mr. Hutchinson's rectitude, that "when George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, was im- "prisoned at Nottingham, he protected him; thus proving that, "unlike the greater number of those who were engaged in the

the better iudge things at home, when we know the condition of affaires abroad. The queene, being suffer'd to passe through Nottinghamshire by those forces which were sent downe thither to have prevented her, ioyn'd with Prince Rupert and came to the king, and was by the parliament voted traitor for many actions, as pawning the crown iewells in Holland, encouraging the rebellion in Ireland, heading a papisticall armie in England, &c.

" same cause, he allowed that liberty of conscience to others " which he claimed for himself."

The editor thought it his duty, upon this suggestion, to make further inquiry, and has in pursuance of it been furnished by a respectable Friend, Mr. Barker, Surgeon, at Colchester, with the two following extracts, together with some others, which will appear in their proper places.—G. Fox's Journal, fol. ed. p. 27. " I went to the Steeple House, at Nottingham, during " the time of divine worship, addressed the people, and was " committed to prison. When the Assizes came on, there " was one moved to come and offer himself up for me, body for " body, yea life also: but when I should have been brought " before the judge, the sheriff's man being somewhat long in " fetching me to the Session's-house, the judge was risen be- " fore I came, at which I understood he was somewhat offend- " ed. So I was returned to prison, and put into the common " gaol; and the Lord's power was great among friends, but " the people began to be very rude, *wherefore the governor of the* " *castle sent down soldiers and dispersed them, and after that* " *they were quiet.*" Sewell's Hist. of Quakers, fol. ed. p. 22. " Now though the people began to be very rude, *yet the go-* " *vernor of the castle was so very moderate, that he sent down* " *soldiers to disperse them.*"

The Earle of Essex his armie lay sick about London for recruits; Sir William Waller, after many victories in the west, was at length totally routed, and returned to London, Prince Maurice and Sr. Ralph Hopton having recover'd and possest allmost the whole west of England for the king. The north my Lord Newcastle's armie commanded so fully, that they were advanct into Nottingham and Lincolneshire; and the adjacent counties. The Parliament, being in this low condition, had agreed with Scotland, and entered into a solemne nationall league and covenant, which was taken throughout both kingdomes, and the king had made a cessation of armes with the Irish rebells, and brought over the English armie, that had bene honor'd with so many successes against them, to serve him here; but God never blest his affaires after they came to him,[s] though indeed before their arrivall God had begun to turne the scale; for the citie of Gloucester stopping, by its faithfull and valliant resistance, the carreere of the king's victories, after Bristoll and Exeter and all the west was lost, the king, disdaining to leave it behind him unvanquisht, sate downe before it, which employ'd him and his whole armie, till the Earle of Essex and his recruited armie, assisted with the London auxillaries, came and reliev'd it, and persued the king's armie to an engagement at Newberry, where the parliament obtein'd a greate and bloody victory, and the king for ever lost that opertunity he lately had of marching up to London, and in probability of subduing the parliament. My Lord Newcastle, by a like error, about the same time, setting downe before Hull, mist the opertunity of wholly gaining all those neighbouring counties, and much wasted his greate and victo-

---

[s] The parliament and the king seem to have been equally injudicious in seeking resources from without. Rapin says, "the Presbyterians seized the occasion which was offered them "of establishing their system of uniformity, and that it increased "the number of the king's friends;" had he not, through partiality to his sect, withheld a part of the truth, he would have said that, in pursuit of their system of intolerance, they divided the parliament and the friends of liberty, exasperated the army, and having forced them to try their strength against them, caused the subjugation of themselves, and the ruin of their whole cause and party. So much for the league and covenant.

The king, by seeking the assistance of the Irish in a manner so injurious to the true interest of England, blemished his own fame, hurt his cause, ruined his partizans in both countries, and indeed the Irish nation in general, which has never recovered from the depopulation which took place in consequence of those convulsions.

This last fact has been controverted by one reviewer, the Critical; but would be easy to establish by various arguments, one only is here adduced. The custom of emigrating and entering into the service of foreign powers, which the Irish began to do at that period, and have continued almost to the present day.

rious army, being forc'd to rise with losse and dishonor from the unyielding towne. After the fight at Newberry Sir William Waller, having gotten a new armie, had divers successes with it, and at length totally routed all Hopton's armie, about that time that Prince Rupert raised the siege at Newark, and was the occasion that call'd the prince so hastily out of those counties.

The Earle of Essex persuing the warre, had a designe to block up Oxford, where the king was, and accordingly attempted it, he on one side and Waller on the other; but the king, with a few light horse, escaped out of the towne, and went to ioyne with his greater armies, which being done, Essex marcht farther into the west, and in Cornwall was besieg'd, where he lost all his foote, ammunition, and ordinance, and came dishonorably home to London. Waller unsuccessefully followed the king, and the parliament's affaires, all that summer, were very unprosperous in the west, south, and midland counties, but contrary in the north, where the Scotch armie, under Generall Leven, advanc'd, tooke some townes and forts, and wasted the Earle of Newcastle's armie more by their patient sufferance of the ill weather and martiall toyle, which the English could not so well abide, then by fighting. Sir Thomas Fairfax, having againe taken the field with his father, after a miraculous victory they had gain'd over the Irish armie[t] which the king had brought over, ioyn'd the Scots; and the Earle of Manchester, having rays'd a force in the associated counties, with which he made an expedition to Lincolne, having Coll. Cromwell for his lieftenant-generall, marcht into Yorkshire, and uniting with the other two armies, they all besieg'd the Earle of Newcastle in Yorke. To rayse this siege, Prince Rupert came with a greate armie out of the south; the besiegers rise to fight with the prince, and Newcastle drew all his force out of Yorke to ioyne with him, when both armies, on a greate plaine call'd Marston Moor, had a bloody encounter, and the Scotts and my lord Fairfaix were wholly routed, and the battle lost, but that Cromwell, with five thousand men which he commanded, routed Prince Rupert, restor'd the other routed parliamentarians, and gain'd the most compleate victory that had bene obtein'd in the whole warre.[u] The victors pos-

[t] Commanded by Sir John Biron, or Lord Biron, near Namptwich in Cheshire.

[u] There are various and discordant accounts given of this battle, so that Rapin says he could neither satisfy himself nor his readers with them: that given by Whitelock is however pretty clear, and agrees with this of Mrs. Hutchinson, in ascribing the success principally to Cromwell; and as Mrs. Hutchinson was by no means partial to Cromwell, nor does Whitelock upon the whole seem so, we may better believe them than Hollis, who writes a philippic rather than a history.

sest all the prince's ordinance, carriages, and baggage; whereupon the prince fled, with as many as he could save, back into the south; the Earle of Newcastle, with some of his choyce friends, went into Germany, and left Sr. Thomas Glenham governor of Yorke, which he soone after surrender'd, and then the three generalls parted; Leven went back into the north and tooke the towne of Newcastle, Fairfax remain'd in Yorkshire, and Manchester return'd into the south, by the way taking in many small garrisons as he past through the counties.

The queene that summer went into France, to sollicite forreigne ayd for her husband, but ineffectually; meanewhile new treaties were carried on betweene the king and parliament, but to no purpose; for the king's false dealing and disingenuity therein was so apparent that they came to nothing, but a further discovery of the king's falsehood, and favour of the Irish rebells, with whom he now employ'd Ormond to treate and conclude a peace. This treaty was that at Uxbridge, where commissioners mett on both sides, but effected nothing; for the parliament itselfe began to grow into two apparent factions of Presbyterians and Independents, and the king had hope, by their divisions, to prevaile for the accomplishment of his owne ends.[x]

---

[x] Whoever will take the pains to read the King's letters in

It was too apparent how much the whole parliament cause had bene often hazarded, how many opertunities of finishing the warre had bene overslipt by the Earle of Essex his armie, and believ'd that he himselfe, with his commanders, rather endeavoured to become arbiters of warre and peace, then conquerors for the parliament, for it was knowne that he had given out such expressions: wherefore those in the parliament, who were griev'd at the preiudice of the publick interest, and loath to bring those men to publick shame, who had once well merited of them, deviz'd to new model the armie, and an ordinance, was made, call'd the self-denying ordinance, whereby all members of parliament, of both houses, were discharg'd of their commands in the armie. Cromwell had a particular exception, when Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh, surrendered their commissions, and Sr. Thomas Fairfax was made generall of the new-modell'd armie, Cromwell lieftenant-generall, and Skippon maior-generall. The armie was reduc'd to twenty-one thousand, who prosecuted the warre not with designe of gaine and making it their trade, but to obteine a righteous peace and settlement to the distracted king-

---

Clarendon's State Papers will see that this is a true representation of his sentiments; but Heylin pretends the failure of the treaty arose from the extreme pertinacity of the rigid Presbyterians: we may very well allow both their share.

dome, and accordingly it succeeded in their hands.[y]

---

[y] It is suggested by Rapin and others that this new model and self-denying ordinance arose not from the motives here set down, but merely from intrigue; yet Whitelock, who even spoke against it, p. 123, shews the indispensible necessity for such a new model. "Some members of the house were sent "to their generals to complain of their remissness. The Earle "of Manchester was under a kind of accusation, the lord ge-"neral in discontent, Waller not much otherwise, the forces "not carefully ordered, and the parliament business in an un-"settled condition, so that it was high time for some other "course to be taken by them." Mr. Sprigge demonstrates this more fully. He says, "Cromwell was absent in the west "when the exemption was voted; that he had come to Windsor "over night to kiss the general's hand and take his leave on "quitting the service, but the following morning, ere he came "forth of his chamber, those commands, than which he thought "of nothing less in all the world, came to him from the com-"mittee of both kingdoms, in obedience to which he imme-"diately marcht away." And further, "that the house did "this for their own happiness and that of their general Fairfax."

Mrs. Hutchinson was sufficiently observant of Cromwell's artifices to have accused him of it on this occasion, if he had deserved it.

END OF VOL. I.

London:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson.

Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, & Orme, Paternoster Row, Jany. 1810.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE OF COLONEL HUTCHINSON,

GOVERNOR OF NOTTINGHAM CASTLE AND TOWN,

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COUNTY OF NOTTINGHAM IN THE
LONG PARLIAMENT, AND OF THE TOWN OF NOTTINGHAM IN THE FIRST PARLIAMENT
OF CHARLES II. ETC.

WITH

ORIGINAL ANECDOTES

OF MANY OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES,

AND

A Summary Review of Public Affairs:

WRITTEN BY

HIS WIDOW LUCY,

DAUGHTER OF SIR ALLEN APSLEY, LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER, ETC.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED
FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT
By the Rev. JULIUS HUTCHINSON.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

THE LIFE OF MRS. HUTCHINSON,

WRITTEN BY HERSELF,

A FRAGMENT.

VOL. II.

FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.
1822.

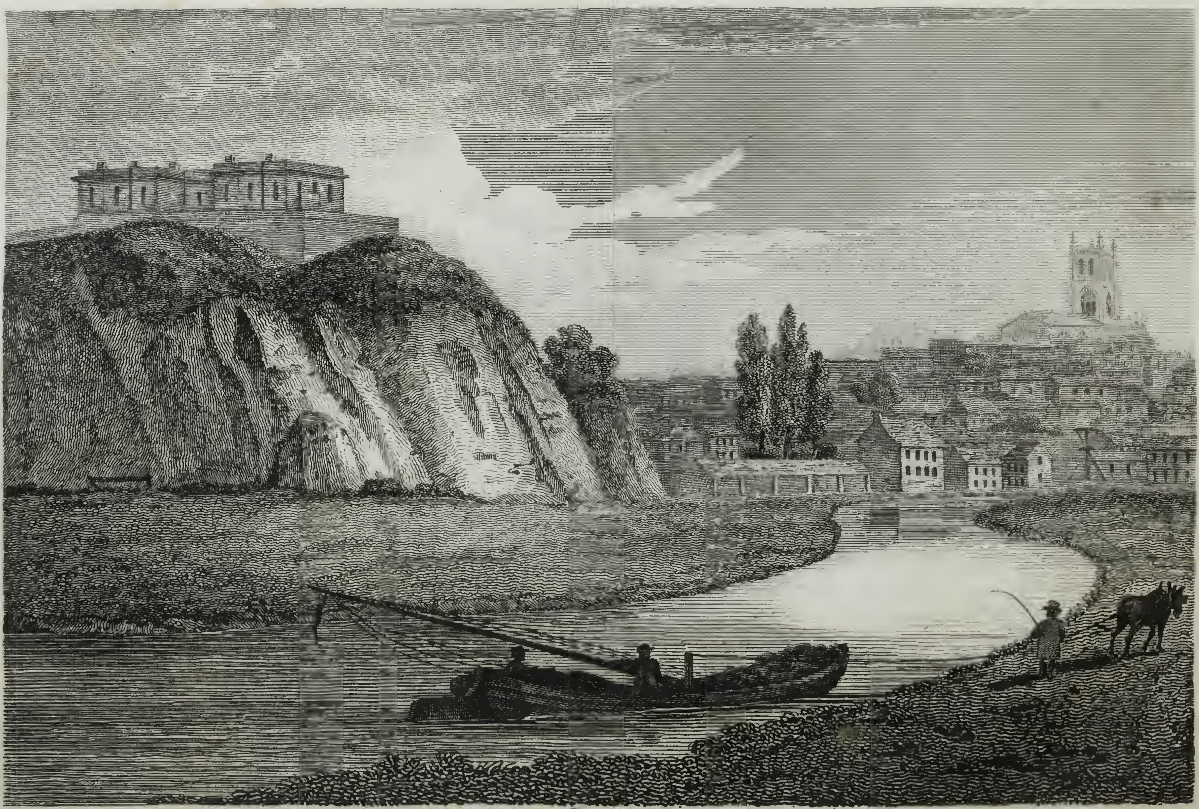
A Plan of Nottingham Castle;

TAKEN IN 1617.

John Hutchinson.

autograph

[illegible]



Engraved by J. Greig.

View of Nottingham Castle and the Town, from the South West

THE LIFE

OF

JOHN HUTCHINSON,

OF OWTHORP,

IN THE COUNTY OF NOTTINGHAM, ESQUIRE.

To returne to Nottingham, after the prince was marcht away out of the country, the enemie without was still designing against the garrison, and the governor's enemies within were still perplexing all his affaires. Upon the eleventh of May, a letter was found by a wench in the night-time, dropt in the shoemaker's booths; which letter was directed to Sr. Richard Biron, informing him that "the businesse betweene them "went on with good successe, and that the time "drawing on, it behoov'd him to be very dilligent, "and desiring him to burne the letter;" which was subscrib'd, "Your carefull servant, A. C.;"

and a postscript written, "Faile nothing by any "means, and there shall be no neglect in me." The governor tooke all courses that could be imagin'd to discover this person, but could never find him out. About this time some troopers going by a house, where one Henry Wandall, a debosht mallignant apothecary had liv'd, (but the house was now empty, and he had the key of it;) they perceived a smoke to come out of it, and went in and found some kindled sticks, laid in a potsherd, iust by a rootten post, under the stair-case, with hurds and other combustible things about it, which it was evident were put there to fire the house, but for what reason, or by whom, was not discover'd.

The governor hearing of some troopes of the enemie in the Vale, had a designe to goe thither and acquainted the committee with it; telling them he would take out all the horse, and himselfe march with the body, and leave a foote companie and thirty horse behind him at the bridges, so as by that time he was marcht by Wiverton, which would give Shelford the alarum, the thirty horse, which were more then Shelford had to send out, should face the house on that side next Nottingham, and the foote should march a private way through the closings, * so that if Shelford horse or foote should

---

* Closings, closes, fields, vulg. Notts. *closen.*

come forth against those thirty horse, the foote might get betweene them and home, or take any advantage that was offer'd. All this the committee very well approved, and so it was resolv'd to put it in execution the next night after, because it would take some time to provide horses for the musketeers. The governor coming out of the committee, met Capt. White upon the parade in the castle-yard, and acquainted him with the designe, who, with a deiected countenance and a faynt voyce, pretended to approove it, but desired the thirty horse who were to stay some howers behind, might be of his troope; to which the governor assented to gratifie his desire, though he told him, he was very loath to spare any of that troope, who were old souldiers and well acquainted with the country; but he desir'd him the rest might not faile to be ready. The captaine promis'd they should, and so departed. When the governor had made ready all the horse and dragoones, and was himselfe iust ready to march out with them, being at Coll. Thornhagh's house, White came in; the governor, not doubting of his intention to goe, ask'd him if his troope were ready? He replied, "They were out upon service; thirty," said he, "are gone by your consent, and the rest went "to fetch in a mallignant at Ekering; some "few odde ones remaine, which you may have

" if you will." The governor desir'd him to goe himselfe and assist him, the captaine desir'd to be excus'd, for " to what purpose should he " goe when his troope was not there ?" The governor went from thence to his owne lodgings, and meeting the committee, acquainted them how White had serv'd him, who seem'd to resent it very ill at that time ; and while they were discoursing of it White's officer came up with warrants to be sign'd for hay for the quarters, which being offer'd the governor, he tore, and sayd he would signe no warrants for such a disorderly troope, as would doe no service but what they list, whose officers knew neither how to give nor obey commands.

Notwithstanding this discouragement, to want eighty of his best men, the governor went out with the rest, and when he had drawne them into the Trent Lanes, one of his spies came in with intelligence that at a towne in the Vale, call'd Sierston, and another next it, call'd Elston, there was two hundred horse quarter'd, who being come in weary and secure, might easily be surpriz'd that night. The governor, calling the captaines together, imparted the intelligence, and they were all forward to goe on in the designe, except Captaine Pendock, who perswaded much against it ; but while they were discoursing another intelligencer came in, to second the former, whereupon the governor told the captaines, that if they would goe, he was resolv'd to do something that night, and because Captaine Pendock was best acquainted with that side of the country, he appoynted him to lead on the forlorne hope, which accordingly he did, but with such sloth and muttering, that in two or three miles riding, the governor was forc'd to send up some officers to him, to hasten him on; neither was this from cowardize, but only humour and faction, for the man was stout enough when he had a mind to it, but now he rid allong, muttering that it was to no purpose, and when he came to Saxondale Gorse, purposely lost himselfe and his forlorne hope; which the governor missing, was much troubled, fearing that by some misadventure they might have bene enclos'd and cutt of betweene the enemie's garrisons; but when they came to Saxondale Lane, Pendock and his forlorne hope were found safe in the reare of the body. The governor, perceiving Pendock's backwardnesse, had sent out some parties, one troope under Captaine-Lieftenant Palmer, and another partie with Cornett Peirson, to some neere townes, to execute some of the committee's warrants, in fetching in delinquents, when the cornett came back with an alarum that two or three hundred horse were quarter'd at Elston and Sierston, which he must either fight with or retreate. Captaine Pendock was againe wonderfull unwilling to goe on, and say'd it would be day before they should come there; but the governor bade those that would, follow him, for he would goe, and accordingly he went; and when he came to the towne, drew up his men at the towne's end in a body, from which he sent in some parties, to fall into the towne, himselfe staying with the body betweene them and Newark, to defend them from any of the enemies that might have come upon them:* so they brought out two captaine-lieftenants, some cornetts, and other gentlemen of quallity, thirty troopers, and many more horses and armes; Captaine Thimbleby absolutely refusing quarter, was kill'd. The governor sent into the towne to command all his men immediately away; but a lieftenant and cornett making not hast to obey, while they stay'd for some drinke, were surpriz'd by a party that came from Newark, before the corporall the governor had sent to fetch them of, was well out of the towne; but with those he had taken, and all the booty, and many horses and beasts fetcht from mallignants in the enemie's quarters, the governor came safe home, to the greate discontent of Captaine White, who was something out of countenance at it. This may serve, instead of many more, to shew how hard a task he had to carrie on the service, with such refractory mallitious persons under him.

---

* Whoever looks upon the map, and observes the vicinity of these places to Newark, and their great distance from Nottingham, will see it to have been a service of great delicacy and danger. It is mentioned cursorily by Whitelocke, page 89; had Sir John Gell been the commander, we should have had it better displayed.

About this time it hapened, that the engineer being by, Captaine Pendock tooke occasion to raile at the towne-workes, and Hooper making answers, which drew on replies, Pendock strooke him, whereupon the man angrie lay'd his hand upon his sword and halfe drew it out, but thrust it in again; the maid ran affrighted into the kitchen, where was one Henry Wandall, who presently call'd some musketeers, disarm'd Mr. Hooper, and sent him prisoner to the governor; who asking him upon what account he came so, he told him he had no reason to accuse himselfe; if those that sent him had aniething against him, he was readie to answer it. After the governor had expected 'till about midnight and nothing came, he sent for Wandall, and enquiring why and by whose authority he committed Mr. Hooper prisoner? He answered, "for drawing his sword, he, as an officer of the "garrison, had sent him up." The governor asked who made him an officer? and taking it upon him, why he did not send up both parties, but only one in a quarrell? and he being able to give no answer, but such as shew'd it was done out of mallice, the governor committed him for his insolency, who being but a common souldier, presum'd to make an officer prisoner, without rendering an account to the governor, and lett the other engag'd in the quarrell go free. The next day after this, Plumtre came to the Trent bridges, where being stopt, he sent up a passe which he had procur'd him from my lord generall, to come and stay in the towne during his owne pleasure; which when the governor saw, he sent him word, that in regard of my lord generall's passe he might stay at his owne house, but bade him take heed, as he would answer it, that he meddled not to make any mutinie or commotion in the garrison: to which he sent an insolent replie, that he was glad the governor was taught manners; he was come to towne for some businesse, and when he had occasion he would repaire to the committee. The committee hearing this, were very sensible of his insolent carriage, and drew up articles against him, which were sign'd with six of their hands, and sent up to Mr. Millington to be preferr'd against him, in the house of parliament, and to be shew'd to my lord generall, as the lieftenant-collonell should see occasion, whom the governor sent immediately to the generall, to acquaint him the reason why Dr. Plumtre had bene forc'd to procure his passe for his protection. The governor tooke this occasion to send to the generall about his cannoneers, whom some dayes before he had bene forc'd to confine as prisoners to their chamber 'till the generall's pleasure could be known concerning them, for at the instigation of Captaine Palmer, all the ministers in towne, and, to make the crie the louder, certeine loose mallignant priests, which they had gotten to ioyne with them, had most violently urg'd, in a petition to the committee, that these men might be turn'd out of the towne for being separatists; so that the governor was forc'd, against his will, to confine them, to prevent mutiny, though they were otherwise honest, obedient, and peacefull. After the lieftenant-collonell was gone, with letters concerning these matters, to the generall, Plumtre behav'd himselfe most insolently and mutinously, and he and Mason entering into confederacy, had contriv'd some articles against the governor, for committing Wandall; but when they tried and found they could do no good with them, Mason came to the governor and was most sawcily importunate for his release, which, by reason of the insolent manner of seeking it, the governor would not grant.

The generall, upon the governor's letters, sent down a letter to Plumtre, to discharge him the garrison, and another to the governor to release the cannoneers; which he accordingly did, to the satisfaction of his owne conscience, which was not satisfied in keeping men prisoners for their consciences, so long as they liv'd honestly and inoffensively; but it caus'd a greate mutinie in the priests against him, and they blew up as many of their people as they could, to ioyne in faction against the governor, not caring now what men they enter'd into confederacy with, nor how disaffected to the cause, so they were but bitter enough against the separatists; which the cunning mallignants perceiving, they now all became zealotts, and laught in secrett, to see how they wrought these men to ruine their owne cause and champions.

Plumtre not taking notice of the generall's letters, the governor sent him word he expected he should obey them and depart: Plumtre replied, his business was done, and he would go: but in spight of his teeth he would have a guard. The lieftenant-collonell would have put in the articles into the parliament, which the committee had sent up against Plumtre; but Mr. Millington pretending all kindnesse and service to the governor, would needs undertake it, and desired the lieftenant-collonell to trouble none of the governor's friends, in any business he had to doe, but to leave it in his hands, who would employ all his powers, and serve him with all vigilance and faithfullnesse, against all persons whatsoever; and whereas he heard the governor had some thoughts of coming to London, he wisht him not to trouble himselfe, but to charge him with aniething he had to doe. Notwithstanding all this, the governor went to London, having some occasions thither. A little before his going, he and the rest of the committee had requir'd Mr. Salisbury, their treasurer, to give in his accounts, which he either unwilling or unable to do, bent his utmost endeavours to rayse a high mutiny and faction against the governor, and Capt. White was never backward in any mischiefe; these, with Plumtre and Mason, made a close confederacy, and call'd home Chadwick to their assistance, having engag'd the persecuting priests and all their idolaters, upon an insinuation of the governor's favour to separatists. During Collonell Thornhagh's sicknesse, the governor undertooke the command of his horse regiment, while it quarter'd in the garrison, and made the men live orderly, and march out upon designes more frequently then they us'd to doe when their collonell was well, upon whose easinesse they prevail'd to do what they list, and some of them, who were greate plunderers, were conniv'd at, which the governor would by no means suffer: wherefore these men were, by the insinuations of their officers and the wicked part of the committee, drawne into the faction, which was working in secrett a while, and at last broke into open prosecutions. They had determin'd that assoone as the governor was gone, White, the devil's exquisite sollicitor, should alsoe follow to

London, but knew not how to doe for a pretence to send him upon the publick purse; when wickednesse, which never wants long the opportunity it waits for, found one soone out, for the committee of both kingdomes had sent a command for all the horse in Nottingham, to repair to Sr. John Meldrum in Lancashire; the towne was put upon a hasty petition that their horse might not goe, and Capt. White must carrie it, who pretends to have knowne nothing of it halfe an hower before, yet he was ready; and Dr. Plumtre too prepar'd to make good his brags, and goe with his convoy. Presently after he was gone, the engine of mischiefe comes to towne, Coll. Chadwick, whom Mr. Salisbury receives with great ioy and exultance, boasting, to use his owne words, that they should now mump the governor. At the maior of the town's house, he was entertein'd with much wine, whereof Mr. Ayscough, a committee man, having taken a pretty large proportion, coming that night to supper to the castle, told the lieftenant-collonell and the governor's wife, that he would advise them to acquaint the governor there was mischiefe hatching against him, and that Chadwick was come to towne, on purpose to effect it, which though the fellow discover'd in his drinke, was true enough, and he himselfe was one of the conspiring wicked ones.

To fortifie their partie, in all hast, they endeavour'd to rayse a new troope of dragoons, under one Will Hall, a debosht mallignant fellow, and thereupon one of the governor's mortall enemies; but some of the honester townsmen perceiving the designe, and not yet being seduc'd, would not rayse him any horse, so at that season the troope was not rays'd.

And now Captaine White came home, when it was observ'd that after his returne, he would not allow the governor that name, but only call'd him Coll. Hutchinson, and when any one elce term'd him governor, would decline the acknowledgment of that name: then caiolling his fellow horse officers and the troopers, they through his insinuations, everywhere began to detract from the governor, and to magnifie Capt. White, and not only to derogate from the governor, but from all persons that were affected to him. Now was there a petition drawne up to be presented to the committee of both kingdoms, desiring that Mr. Millington might be sent downe to compose the differences which were in the garrison. The lieftenant-collonell, and some others, refusing to signe it, Capt. White told them it was a pretence, which Mr. Millington desir'd the favour of them, that they would make to obteine leave for him to come downe and visitt his wife and children, whom he had a longing desire to see, and knew not any other way to bring it about. The gentlemen to gratify Mr. Millington sign'd it, and he himselfe at London, with the same pretext, obtain'd the governor's hand to it, while the governor, deceiv'd by his high and faire professions of service and kindnesse to him, never entertain'd any suspition of his integrity; and this was the greatest of the governor's defects, through the candidnesse and sincerity of his owne nature, he was more unsuspitious of others, and more credulous of faire pretenders, then suited with so greate a prudence, as he testified in all things elce. Nothing awak'ned iealousie in him but grosse flattery, which, when he saw any one so servile as to make, he believ'd the soule that could descend to that basenesse, might be capable of falsehood: but those who were cunning, attempted him not that way, but put on a face of faire, honest, plaine friendship, with which he was a few times, but not often in his life, betrey'd. At Mr. Millington's entreaty the governor releas'd Wandall, but would have prosecuted the committee's petition against Plumtre, which Mr. Millington most earnestly perswaded him not to doe, but desir'd that he would permitt him to come and live quietly in his owne house, upon engagement, that he should not rayse nor foment any mutiny nor faction in the garrison, or intermeddle with any of the affaires thereof. The governor was easily wrought to assent to this alsoe, but Plumtre refus'd to enter into such an engagement to quiet behaviour, and so, for that time, came not to Towne. There was againe a new designe against the garrison by the enemie discover'd, and a spie taken, who own'd a souldier in the maior's companie that had listed himself on purpose to effect this mischiefe; but through carelesse custody, the spie escap'd that day that the garrison were celebrating their ioy for the greate victory at Yorke. Meanwhile the governor supposing Mr. Millington, as he profess'd himselfe, highly his friend and his protector, complain'd to him of the mutinous carriage of the horse, and his disturbance and discouragement in the publick service thereby, and desir'd him to get a resolution in the thing, whereby his power and their duty might be defin'd, that he might know wherein he was to command them in his garrison, and they to obey him. Mr. Millington advis'd him to write a letter to him concerning this, setting downe his owne apprehensions, what he was to exact from them, and they to render him; which accordingly the governor did, and left it with Millington, and return'd to his garrison. Mr. Millington told him, that he had shew'd the letter to the committee of both kingdomes, who had given their opinion of it, that he requir'd no more of them then he ought to have. Soone after the governor Mr. Millington came downe to Nottingham, with instructions from the committee of both kingdomes, to heare and, if he could, compose the differences at Nottingham; if not, to report them to the committee of both kingdoms. Mr. Millington, coming downe with these, brought Plumtre as far as Leicester with him, and begg'd of the governor to permit him to returne to his house, engaging himselfe that he should not meddle with aniething belonging to the garrison, nor come neere the castle, nor any of the forts: which engagement the governor receiv'd, and suffer'd the man to come home; and Millington, least the governor should suspect his greate concerne in Dr. Plumtre, made strong professions to him, that he desir'd his re-admission into the towne for nothing but to be a snare to him: for he knew the turbulency and pride of his spiritt such, that he would never be quiet; but if, after this indulgence, he should, as he believed he would, returne to his former courses, he would be inexcusable in the eies of all men. Then Mr. Millington desir'd the governor to draw up some heads, wherein he conceiv'd his power to consist, which he did, reducing allmost all the words of his commission into eight propositions, which when he shew'd first to Mr. Millington, before the committee saw them, Mr. Millington seem'd very well to approove of them, and protested againe to the governor, the faithfullnesse of his heart to him, excusing his intimacy with his enemies, upon a zeale he had to doe him service, by discovering their designes against him, and call'd himselfe therein, Sr. Pollitick Wouldbe: but the governor disliking this double dealing, though it had bene with his enemies, desir'd him rather to declare himselfe ingenuously as his conscience led him, though it should be against him, and told him freely he liked not this faire carriage to both. When the governor put in his propositions to the committee, they desir'd each of them might have a copy of them, and all a weeke's time to consider them; at the end of which, when the governor prest their answer, whether they assented to them, or could obiect aniething against them? they, with false flattering apologies to the governor, that if such command were due to any man, they should rather the governor should employ it, then any person whatsoever, by reason of his unquestion'd meritts; but they conceiv'd that such a power given to a governor, would not consist with that which belong'd to a committee, whereupon they produc'd a tedious, impertinent paper, in answer to the governor's propositions; which, when the governor read over, he flung by, saying it was a ridiculous senseless piece of stuffe: some of them taking exceptions, he should so contemne the committee's paper; he replied, he knew not yet whose it was, not being sign'd by any one, if any of them would owne it he desired them to subscribe it, and then he should know what to say. Thereupon the next day, it was againe brought out, signed by Mr. Millington, Chadwick, Salisbury, White, and the maior of the towne. The summe of the paper not containing any exceptions against the governor himselfe, but against his power, and wholly denying that my Lord Fairfax had power to make a governor, or conferre any such power on him, as his commission imported; the governor told them, it no farther concern'd him, but only to acquaint my Lord Fairfax, with whom he should leave it, to iustifie his owne commission, and his authority to give one; but forasmuch as my Lord was concern'd in it, the gentlemen who had more respect for him disown'd it, and these were the governor, the lieftenant-collonell, Mr. Pigott, Coll. Thornhagh, Maior Ireton, Maior Widmerpoole, Capt. Lomax, and Alderman James. Then the governor told them, how he had bene inform'd that this paper was of Chadwick's contrivance, and that when Mr. Millington saw it, he hugg'd Chadwick in his armes, with such congratulation, as is not to be imagin'd they could give, to a fellow, of whom they had iustly entertain'd so vile an opinion, and then before his face declar'd all their thoughts of indignation and contempt, which they had formerly exprest of Coll. Chadwick, whom he ask'd, with what face he could question my lord's authority, to make him governor, when he had formerly us'd such surreptitious cheates to obtaine it, for himselfe, by the same authority? and he askt the committee, how it came to passe, they now believ'd my Lord Fairfax had not authority to make him governor, when they themselves at first writt to him for the commission? and to Mr. Millington he said, he had dealt very unfaithfully to those that entrusted him to compose differences, which he had rather made then found; and very treacherously with him, making himselfe a party and the chiefe of his adversaries, when he pretended only to be a reconciler. Having at full layd them open one to another, and declar'd all their treachery, mallice, pride, and knavery, to their faces, he went away, smiling, at the confusion he had left them in; who had not vertue enough in their shame, to bring them back to repentance, but having begun to persecute him, with their spite and mallice, were resolv'd to carrie on their wicked designe, wherein they had now a double encouragement to animate them, Mr. Mellington's sheltering them in the parliament house, and obstructing all redresse the governor should there seeke for, and the hopes of profitt and advantage they might upon the change of things expect by the garrison, if they could wrest it out of the governor's hands, either by wearying him with uniust vexations, or by watching some advantage against him, to procure the discharge of his office by the parliament; for they, knowing him to be impatient of affronts, and of a high spiritt, thought to provoke him to passion, wherein something might fall out to give them advantages; but he perceiving their drift, shew'd them that he govern'd his anger, and suffer'd it not to master him, and that he could make use of it to curb their insolency, and yet avoid all excursions that might preiudice himselfe.* When the governor undertooke this employment, the parliament's interest in those parts was so low, and the hazard so desperate, that these pittifull wretches, as well as the other faithfull hearted to the publique cause, courted him to accept and keepe the place, and though their fowle spirits hated the daylight of his more vertuous conversation, yet were they willing enough to let him beare the brunt of all the hazard and toyle of their defence, willinger to be secur'd by his indefatigable industry and courage, then to render him the iust acknowledgment of his good deserts. This ingratitude did not at all abate his zeale for the publick service, for as he sought not prayse, so he was well enough satisfied in doing well; yet through their envious eyes, they tooke in a generall good esteeme of him, and sin'd against their owne consciences in persecuting him, whereof he had after acknowledgments and testimonies from many of them. All the while of this contest, he was borne up by a good and honourable party of the committee, and greater in number and vallue then the wicked ones, whom Mr. Millington's power in the house only countenanc'd and animated to persue their mischiefes. What it was that drew Mr. Millington into their confederacy was afterwards apparent; they hir'd him with a subscription of losses, for which they gave him publick faith double to what he really had lost;* and they offer'd him a share of the governor's spoyles, if he would helpe them to make him a prey, which would have bene good booty to his meane family; for although the governor had hitherto gott nothing but desperate hazard and vast expence, yet now this garrison began to be in a more hopefull condition, by the late successe in the north. After Yorke was taken, the Earle of Manchester marcht into our parts, upon whose coming Bolsover and Tickhill castles were deliver'd up to him, and Welbeck, the Earle of Newcastle's house, which was given into Coll. Thornhagh's command, and much of the enemie's wealth, by that means, brought into Nottingham: Winkfield manour, a strong garrison in Derbyshire, was taken upon composition, and by this meanes, a rich and large side of the country, was layd open to helpe maintaine the garrison at Nottingham, and more hoped for by these gentlemen, who were now as greedy to catch at the rewards of another's labours, as unable to meritt aniething themselves: but when the hopes of the harvest of the whole country, had tempted them to begin their wicked plotts, God seeming angrie at their ill use of mercy, caus'd the Earle of Manchester to be call'd back into the south, when he was going to have besieg'd Newark, and so that towne, with the pettie garrisons at Wiverton, Shelford, and Belvoyr, were still left for further exercise to Nottingham. Yet the hopes these would in time be gained, made these gentlemen prosecute their designe against the governor, whose partie they endeavour'd with all subtileties to weaken; and first attempted Coll. Thornhagh, who having by his signaliz'd vallour arriv'd to a greate reputation, they thought if they could gaine him, he would be their best leaver, to heave out the governor, and that prop once remoov'd they despair'd not to make him contribute to his owne ruine; for they had discover'd in him a facillity of nature, apt to be deluded by faire pretences, and more prone to suspect the kind plaine-dealing of his friends, then the flattery of his enemies: but the governor, after they had display'd themselves, by his vigilancy, prevented many of their mallitious designes, and among the rest that they had upon this gentleman. During his sicknesse the governor tooke care of his regiment, and employ'd the troopes that quarter'd in the garrison: but through the wicked instigations of Captaine White, being very refractory, and the regiment often call'd out on field service, the governor sent for a commission, and rays'd a troope of horse, which the lieftenant-collonell commanded, and a troope of dragoones for the peculiar service of the garrison. These cunning sowers of sedition wrought, upon this occasion, Coll. Thornhagh into a iealous beliefe, that Coll. Hutchinson was taking the advantage of his sicknesse, to worke himselfe into his command. Coll. Thornhagh was griev'd at it, but sayd nothing; but the governor discovering the thing, notwithstanding his silence, when the lieftenant-collonell went to London, procur'd a commission for Coll. Thornhagh to be, next under Sr. Thomas Fairfax, commander in chiefe of all the parliament's horse in Nottinghamshire, at all times, which being brought to Coll. Thornhagh, when he knew nothing of it, clear'd him of that suspition. And, now, although they were more inclin'd to delude then openly to oppose Coll. Thornhagh, yet they having no exceptions against the governor in his owne person, but against his authority, they were forc'd to deny Coll. Thornhagh's command as well as the governor's, they being both deriv'd from the same power. The horse captaines, who were allur'd by faire colours of preferment, and indulg'd in their plunder, which they hop'd to doe with more freedom, if Capt. White prevail'd, were more obedient to Capt. White and their owne ambition, then to their collonell or the lawes and customs of warre. The committee hoped, by thus disputing the collonell's powers, under a face of parliament authority, to weary them out, and make them cast up their commissions, when they had, by Mr. Millington, blockt up the way of their complaint, so that they fear'd not being turn'd out of the committee, for the abuse of that trust: and perhaps they had succeeded, but that the governor scorn'd to give up a good cause, either particular or publick, for want of courage to defend it among many difficulties; and then, although he had many enemies, he had more friends, whom if he should desert, they would be left to be crusht by these mallitious persons; and more then all this, the country would be abandon'd into the hands of persons, who would only make a prey of it, and not endeavour its protection, liberty, or reall advantage, which had bene his chiefe ayme in all his undertakings.

---

* To some the recital of these municipal broils may appear rather tedious, but Whitelock's Memorials shew that these, and such like, in various parts of the kingdom, required the serious and frequent attention of the parliament. Most readers will pity a man of Col. Hutchinson's exalted mind for being compelled to cope with such despicable adversaries, but they will derive some pleasure from observing the address with which he foiled their insidious attacks.

---

* Of this custom of applying to the parliament for reparation or compensation, and of its being granted generally at the expense of delinquents or cavaliers, there appear many instances in Whitelock—no doubt many abuses crept in. In Walker's Hist. of Independ. p. 81, Mr. Millington is declared to have received in this manner 2000*l.*

The conspirators, as I may more iustly terme them, then the committee, had sent Capt. White to Yorke, to my Lord Fairfax, and to get the governor's power defin'd, which he understanding, the next day went thither himselfe, and Mr. Pigott, who from the beginning to the ending shew'd himselfe a most reall and generous friend to the governor, and as cordiall to his country and the greate cause, went allong with him, arriving a day after Capt. White. When my lord gave them a hearing together, he asked whether the governor had done aniething of consequence without consulting the committee, which White could not say he had; then he ask'd White if he had any other misgovernment to accuse him of, which when White could not alledge against him, the governor before his face told my lord all the businesse, whereupon White was dismissed with reproofe and laughter, and letters were written to the committee, to iustifie the governor's power, and to entreate them to forbeare disturbing him in his command, and to Mr. Millington, to desire him to come over to Yorke to my lord; both which the governor deliver'd, but Mr. Millington would not goe over, but, on the contrary, continued to foment and rayse up the factions in the towne against the governor, and by his countenance the committee every day meditated and practis'd new provocations to stirre up the governor to rage, or at least to weary him in his employment. The horse, without his knowledge, they frequently sent abroad; protections, ticketts, and passes, they gave out; and, encroaching upon his office in all things whatsoever, wrought such a confusion in the garrison, that, while all men were distracted and amaz'd, in doubt whose orders to obey, and who were their commanders, they obey'd none, but every man did what he listed; and by that meanes the publick service was in all things obstructed and preiudic'd. The governor, while the iniury was only to himselfe, bore it, but when it extended allmost to the destruction of the garrison, he was forc'd to endeavour a remedy. For about this time it hap'ned that Salisbury, being treasurer, had given base termes and wilful delayes to the souldiers who were assign'd their pay, when the mony was ready for them in the treasury; and when this base carriage of his had provok'd them to a mutinie, the governor was sent for to appease it, which he did; but comming to the committee, told them he would no longer endure this usage of theirs, to have all things of power, honor, and command, wrested out of his hands, and all things of difficulty and danger put upon him; while they purposely stirr'd up occasions of rigor and punishment, and then expected he should be the executioner of it, by which he perceiv'd they did these things only with designe to render him contemptible and odious to all persons. Not long after a command came for all the horse that could be spar'd in the garrison to goe to Sr. John Meldrum, to the reliefe of Montgomery-castle. The governor went to the committee to consult what troopes should march, and they voted *none.* The governor told them, he conceiv'd when a command was given, they were to obey without dispute, and that he came to advise with them what troopes should be sent forth, not whether any or noe; therefore, although they voted disobedience of the command, that would not discharge him, especially the service being of greate consequence, and the troopes lying here without other employment: wherefore at night he summoned a councell of warre, and there allmost all the captaines, having no mind to march so farre from home, declar'd they conceiv'd themselves to be under the command of the committee, and would only obey their orders. Upon this the governor went to the committee and desir'd them that, in regard unanswerable things were done, the publick service neglected, and all the transactions of the garrison confused, they would unite with him in a petition to the parliament, to define their severall powers; and in the meane time either quietly to let him execute his duty, or elce to take all upon them and discharge him. They presently made a motion, that he would call a muster, and put it to all the souldiers, whether they would be govern'd by the committee or the governor. The governor told them his command was not elective, but of right belonged to him, and this way was only the next occasion to cause a mutiny, which he could not consent to. But they persisting in their course, he came againe to them and desir'd they would at length surcease these affronts in his command, and their underminings, whereby they endeavour'd to alienate men's hearts from him, and to rayse faction against him by close unworthy practises: so after much debate it was on all hands agreed, that they should not at all intermiddle with aniething belonging to the souldiery, nor interrupt the governor in his command, till the house of parliament should decide it, and that the governor and Capt. White should both goe to London, to procure a speedy determination of the powers in a faire and open way. This they all faithfully promis'd the governor, and made many hipocriticall professions to him, some of them with tears; whereupon he, who was of the most reconcileable nature in the world, accepted their faire pretences, and went to drinke friendly with them in token of kindnesse. Yet was all this but hipocrisie and falsehood, for even at that very time they wearied many of the governor's officers out of the garrison by the continued mallice wherewith they persecuted all that had any respect for him. Among these was Mr. Hooper the engineer, a man very faithfull to the cause and very honest, but withall rough, who having to doe with hatefull businesses, was made odious to the common people, the priests too having a particular spite at him, as one they esteemed a leader of the separatists; yet he was very ingenious and industrious in his office, and most faithfull as well to the governor himselfe as to the publick service. The committee, to insinuate themselves with the common people, regarded him with an evil eie, and so discourag'd him, that being offer'd much better preferment, and invited by Coll. Cromwell into other parts, he acquainted the governor with it, offering withall that, if he might yet be protected from affronts in his employment, he would stay and serve the governor for halfe the salary offer'd elce-where. But the governor, although he were very sorry to part with him, and the service would much misse him, yet being so much iniur'd himselfe, could not undertake the protection of any of his officers, and therefore would not hinder his preferment, but suffer'd him to goe to Cromwell. Such was the envie of the committee to him, that iust as he was going, that very day, they not willing to let him depart in peace, although they knew he had iustly expended all the mony he had receiv'd of them, yet they call'd for an account from the beginning of his employment, which they had often seene in parcells, but believing he could not so readily give it them alltogether, they then demanded it. He immediately brought it forth, and gott by it twelve shillings due to him upon the foote thereof, which he intended not to have ask'd them, but receiving it upon the exhibition of his account, went away smiling at their mallice; which yett would not let him go so, for then Henry Wandall came with a petition to the governor, that he would vindicate the honour of the Earle of Essex against Mr. Hooper, whom he accus'd to have spoken words against him, and done actions to his dishonor. The governor knowing this was but mallice, accepted security for him, which was offer'd by Mr. Pigott and Maior Watson, that he should answer what could be obiected against him at any councell of warre he should be call'd to. *

---

* This Mr. Hooper was undoubtedly a person of singular abilities. Mr. Sprigge, in his Anglia Rediviva, mentions him as serving Sir Thomas Fairfax at the siege of Oxford and other places as engineer extraordinary, and greatly expediting all his enterprizes, the rapidity and number of which were surprizing: he was at the siege of Ragland-castle, the last garrison that surrendered; he came again to Nottingham during Col. Hutchinson's government, and, by the list of the garrison in Deering's Nottingham, appears to have continued with Capt. Poulton.

Wednesday, Sept. the 25, 1644, Capt. White went to London to sollicite the committee's businesse against the governor, for they were intended to putt it upon a faire debate, as was promis'd. The next day the governor commanded Capt. Barratt's troope to convoy him towards London, but iust as he was going to horse, the committee, contrary to their engagements, not to meddle with any millitary affaires, commanded them another way, and soe he was forc'd to goe without a convoy, although the captaine was afforded a whole troope to waite on him.

Two or three days before the governor went, Chadwick came privately to the governor's brother and told him, that his conscience would not suffer him to conceale the mallitious designes, and that treachery, which he now discover'd to be in these men's oppositions of the governor, and, with many insinuations, told him they were framing articles against the governor, whereof he gave him a copie, which the governor carried to London with him, and shew'd the lieftenant-collonell the originalls in Mason's and Plumptre's owne hand writings. Three days after the governor, Coll. Thornhagh went to London. That day the governor went, one of the Presbyterian ministers, whose name was Goodal, preacht the lecture at the greate church, with many invectives against governors and arbitrary power, so planely hinting at the governor that all the church well understood it; but for the committee he gloz'd with them, and told them he had nothing to say to them, but to goe on in the good way they went. Some months after, this poore man preaching at a living the committee had put him into, was taken by the enemie, and much deiected at it, because he could not hope the governor would exchange him, after his unworthy pulpitt raylings at him; but the governor, who hated poore revenges, when his enemie and one of his friends were both in the same prison, and he had but one exchange readie, first procur'd the minister's release, and let his owne officer stay for the next exchange. Whereupon the man comming home, was struck with remorce, and beg'd the governor's pardon, with reall acknowledgments both to himselfe and others of his sin, in supporting faction against the governor; who was told that on his deathbed, for he died before the garrison was dissolv'd, he exprest to some of the governor's friends his trouble for having been his enemie. But not only to him, but to many others of his enemies, the governor upon sundry occasions, when they fell into his power to have requited their mischiefes, instead of vengeance render'd them benefitts, so that at last his own friends would tell him, if they could in iustice and conscience forsake him, they would become his adversaries, for that was the next way to engage him to obligations; but although his friends, who had greater animosities against his uniust persecutors than he himselfe, would say these things in anger at his clemency, his nature was as full of kind gratitude to his friends as free from base revenges upon enemies, who either fell downe to him by their owne iust remorse, or were cast under his power by God's iust providence.

Assoone as the governor was gone, the committee tooke all power upon them, and had the impudence to command the lieftenant-collonell, who was deputy-governor, and absolute in his brother's absence, to draw out his troope: he went to them and told them he was sorrie they broke their agreement, but he could not breake his trust of his brother's authority to obey them. Then they feign'd a pretence and turn'd out the governor's quarter-master, who by the governor's appoyntment had quarter'd souldiers at an alehouse Mr. Millington had given a protection to, that they should quarter none, upon the account of some relation they had to him, who married one of the daughters of the place. This occasioning some dispute, Cooke the quarter-master had utter'd some words, for which they sent for him and cast out greate threates, how they would punish him, which frighted his wife, big with child, in that manner that her child died within her, and her owne life was in greate hazard. The committee then call'd a hall, and caus'd the townsmen to bring in horses for dragoones, whereof they voted a regiment to be rays'd. Chadwick to be the collonell, and Hall and Selby to be captaines under him. They tooke upon them to command the souldiers, and made horrible confusion, by which they often put the garrison in greate danger, if the enemie had known their advantage. Among the rest, one night after the guards were sett, the captaine of the guard, missing the deputy-governor to receive the word from him, gave them the same word they had before, till he had found out the governor to receive a new one. Mr. Millington comming by, halfe flustered, would have had the captaine take a word from him, which when the captaine refused, he being angrie, commanded Captaine Mason's drums to beate, and sett a double guard. The lieftenant-collonell hearing the drums, and having no notice of this command, sent to Mason to command him to forbeare drawing any men to the guard, but Mason would not obey him. Besides this, they did a thousand such like things, to provoke him to give them some colour of complaint, or some advantage against him and his brother, for the carrying on of a wicked designe, which they were secretly managing to destroy them; but God, by a wonderful providence, brought it to light.

Their conspiracy was to accuse the collonell and his brother as persons that had betrey'd the towne and castle, and were ready to surrender them to the enemie, which they would pretend to have discover'd, and to have prevented their treachery, by a surprize of the lieftenant-collonell, the castle and the bridges, and all the officers that were faithfull to the governor and his friends. Because they had not force in towne who would act this villainy, they sent to Sr. John Gell, in whom they had a greate interest, and a man likely enough to promote their wickednesse, had they even acquainted him with it, as black as it was in the cursed forge of their own hearts; but to carrie their businesse closely, they sent to tell him they had cause of suspition that the lieftenant-collonell was false to his trust, and would deliver the castle to the enemie, to prevent which they desir'd him to assist them with some men and ammunition; which ammunition was very secretly convey'd into the towne, and the men were ready to march, and quarters taken up for them in Nottingham. The lieftenant-collonell dreamt nothing of the mischiefe that was hatching against him, when, iust at the very time of the execution, there came into Nottingham two gentlemen, whom the parliament employ'd to carrie intelligences betweene the north and the south, and who us'd to meete at this towne.

Mr. Fleetwood, who came from the south, came immediately up to the castle, and there was familiarly and kindly treated, as he used to be, by the lieftenant-collonell. This was upon a Saturday night, in the month of October. Mr. Marsh, his correspondent, that came from the north, passing through Derby, was caution'd so by Sr. John Gell, that he durst not come up to the castle, but on the Lord's day sent for Mr. Fleetwood to meete him in the towne, who comming to him, he told him what information he had receiv'd from Sr. John Gell, and for that reason durst not trust himselfe in the castle. Mr. Fleetwood undertaking for his safety, brought him up to the lieftenant-collonell, and he finding the untruth of their forgeries, told the lieftenant-collonell all the machinations against him; whereupon, on the Monday morning, he went away to London, and sent Mr. Millington word that having understood the suspition they had of him, he was gone to London, where, if they had aniething to accuse him of, they might send after him, and he should be ready to answer it, and in his absence had left Capt. Lomax governor of the garrison. The committee, very much confounded that their wickednesse was come to light, resolv'd to outface the thing, and denied that they had sent to Derby for any men. They sayd indeed it was true, that having formerly lent Sr. John Gell some pouder, they had sent for that back; but this was not all, for they had alsoe perswaded the master of the magazine that was in the castle to convey, unknowne to the lieftenant-collonell, two barrels of pouder, with match and bullett suitable, to such place as Chadwick should direct. This he, not dreaming of their evil intention, had condescended to, and sent them to Salisburie's house, but assoone as the lieftenant-collonell was gone they tooke what care they could to shuffle up this businesse, and presently dispatcht Capt. Palmer to London and Lieft. Chadwick to Derby, where he so wrought with Sr. John Gell, that he brought back a counterfeit letter, pretended to have bene all that was sent from the committee of Nottingham to him, and another of Sr. John Gell's writing, wherein he disown'd all that Mr. Marsh had related of his information; but God, who would not let them be hid, had so order'd that while matters were thus huddling up at Derby, Sr. John Gell's brother came by chance to Nottingham, and affirm'd that the committee of Nottingham had sent to his brother for three hundred men, to surprize Nottingham Castle, which when the committee heard, they sent Capt. Pendock after him the next day to charme him, that he might no more discover the truth in that particular. Alsoe that very day that these intentions of theirs were thus providentially brought to light, one of Sr. John Gell's captaines was knowne to be in towne, whom Sr. John had sent to discover the state of things, and the new quarter-master had bene all that day taking billett for souldiers in severall houses in the towne.

When the governor came to London, the committee of both kingdomes had appoynted a sub-committee to heare his businesse, whereof young Sr. Henry Vane had the chaire, Mr. William Pierrepont, Mr. Sollicitor St. John, Mr. Recorder, and two of the Scotch commissioners, were nominated for the committee; before whom the governor's propositions and the committee's answers had bene read, and when their sollicitor, Captaine White, saw they were likely to be cast out as frivolous, he produc'd some articles, which they had formed against the governor, lieftenant-collonell, and Mr. Pigott, but they proov'd as frivolous as the other, and the gentlemen answer'd them soe clearely that they appear'd to be forg'd out of mallice and envy, only to cause delayes, there being scarce aniething of moment in them, if they had bene true, whereas they were all false: and now after they had trod downe the fence of shame, and impudently began with articles, there was not the least ridiculous impertinency that pass'd at Nottingham but they put it into a scrip of paper and presented it as an additionall article to the committee; to each of whom particularly Mr. Millington had written letters, and given them such false impressions of the governor, and so prepossess'd them against him, that was a stranger to them all, that they look'd upon him very coldly and slightly, when he made particular addresses to them: but he, that scorn'd to be discourag'd with any man's disregard, from whom he had more reason to have expected all caresses and thankefull acknowledgments of his unwearied fidellity and good services, resolv'd to pursue his owne vindication through all their frownes and cold repulses: these he met with more from Mr. William Pierrepont than from any of the rest, till Mr. Pierrepont perceiv'd the iniustice of their prosecution, and then there was no person in the world that could demeane himselfe with more iustice, honor, and kindnesse then he did to the governor, whose iniuries became first apparent to him, when the lieftenant-collonell came and told his brother what combinations had bene discover'd against him at Nottingham, which the governor resenting with great indignation, complain'd of it to the committee. The Sollicitor White impudently denied the whole matter, or that ever the committee at Nottingham had had the least suspition of the governor or his brother, or the least ground of any. When this had bene with stiffnesse and impudence enough outfac'd before the committee, Mr. Pierrepont, then fully convinc'd of their devillish mallice, pull'd a letter out of his pockett, wherein Mr. Millington made this suggestion to him against the governor and his brother, and desir'd that he might be arm'd with power to prevent and suppresse them. This would have made others asham'd, but their sollicitor was notwithstanding impudent and rudely pressing upon the committee, who though they were persons of honor, and after they discover'd the governor's innocence, not forward to oppresse him, yet as they were statesmen, so were they not so ready to relieve him as they ought to have bene, because they could not doe it without a high reflexion upon one of their owne members, who encourag'd all those little men in their wicked persecution of him. They were such exquisite rogues, that all the while some of them betrey'd one another to the governor, and told him, under pretence of honesty and conscience, the bottome of their whole designes, shew'd the fowll originall draughts of their articles, in the men's owne hands that contriv'd them; and told him how not so much dislike of him, as covetousnesse and ambition to advance themselves upon his ruines, engag'd them thus against him, and made them contrive that villainy to accuse him and his brother of treachery, and to have seiz'd their garrisons, under that pretence, and gotten them to be made prisoners; and then Mr. Millington undertooke to have lodg'd their petitions so in the parliament, that they should never have bene heard and reliev'd.* Coll. Thornhagh too was to be wrought out of his command, and they had divided the spoyle before they caught the lions. Millington's sonne was design'd to be governor of the castle: the ten pounds aweeke allow'd for the governor's table, so many of the committee-men were to share by fortie shillings a man; Chadwick was to be collonell of the towne regiment, and Mason maior; White collonell of the horse regiment, and Palmer, the priest, his maior; and all the governor's friends to be turn'd out, and their places dispos'd to creatures of theirs, who, drawn on with these hopes, were very active to worke the governor and his party out of the opinion of all men. They forgott the publick interest in this private quarrell, taking in all the mallignant and debosht people that would ioyne with them, to destroy the governor, whom they hated for his unmoved fidellity in his trust, and his severe restriction of ledwdnesse and vice: but because he protected and favour'd godly men that were sober, although they separated from the publick assemblies, this open'd wide the mouths of all the priests and all their idolaters, and they were willing enough to lett the children of hell crie out with them to make the lowder noyse, and as we have since seene the whole cause and party ruin'd by the same practise, so at that time the zealotts for God and the parliament turn'd all the hate they had to the enemies of both, and call'd them to assist in executing their mallice upon the faithfull servant and generous champion of the Lord's and his country's iust cause. And now the name of Cavallier was no more remember'd, Castilian being the terme of reproach with which they branded all the governor's friends, and lamentable it was to behold how those wretched men fell away under this temptation, not only from publick-spiritednesse, but from sobriety and honest morall conversation; not only conniving at and permitting the wickednesse of others, but themselves conversing in taverns and brothells, till at last Millington and White were so ensnar'd that they married a couple of alehouse wenches, to their open shame and the conviction of the whole country of the vaine lives they led, and some reflection on the parliament itselfe, as much as the miscarriage of a member could cast on it, when Millington, a man of sixty, professing religion, and having but lately buried a religious matronly gentlewoman, should goe to an alehouse to take a flirtish girle of sixteen; yet by these noble alliances, they much strengthen'd their faction with all the vaine drunken rogues in the towne against the governor. Now their first plott had, by God's providence, bene detected, they fell upon others, and set on instruments every where, to insinuate all the lies they could, that might render the governor odious to the towne and to the horse of the garrison, whom they desir'd to stirre up to petition against him, but could not find any considerable number that would freely doe it; therefore they us'd all the strong motives they could, and told them the governor sought to exercise an arbitrary power over them, and to have all their booties at his owne dispose, and other such like things, by which at length they prevail'd with many of Coll. Thornhagh's regiment to subscribe a petition that they might be under the command of the committee, and not of any other person in the garrison. This petition was sent up by Captaine Palmer, and he meeting Mr. Pigott at Westminister Hall, Mr. Pigott, in private discourse with him, began to bewaile the scandalous conversation of certaine persons of the committee, hoping that he, being familiar with them, might be a means to perswade them to reformation.

---

* It is averred in the Hist. of Independ. "that the active "speaking men pack committees who carry all the busi-"nesses of the house as they please, and when the matter is "too bad smoother it with artificial delays."

After this the governor, Coll. Thornhagh, Mr. Pigott, and some other, being in a taverne at Westminster, where they din'd, Capt. Palmer came to the doore, and they bade him come in. Upon discourse, the governor pull'd out of his pockett the articles which the committee had put in against him, shew'd them Captaine Palmer, and ask'd him whither he thought it possible that he should, after all his toyles and services, have bene articled against for such things. Palmer, who had bene from the beginning with the governor, and knew the falsehood of these accusations, profess'd he was amaz'd at them, and that he had not till then heard aniething of them. Continuing in further discourse, the governor mention'd an unchristian-like sermon, which Mr. Goodall had preacht with invectives against him, in his absence: Palmer undertooke the iustification of it, with such sawcy provocations, that the governor told him, if it had not bene more in respect to his black coate then his grey, he would have beaten him out of the roome, which for his owne safety, he advis'd him to leave: so he went out very angrie, and going to Captaine White, told him how Mr. Pigott call'd him a whore-master, Mr. Millington a drunkard, and Chadwick a knave. White, meeting Mr. Pigott, in the hall, challeng'd him of these scandalls. Mr. Pigott, seeing Palmer not farre off, led White to him, and told him he knew that person had bene his informer, repeating all he had say'd to him, and added, that it was in a desire of their reformation, but he would maintaine that all the things he spoke were true. Palmer further, in his rage, putts into the committee a paper of reasons, why he desir'd to be exempted from being under the governor, whereof one was, that he had cowardly and unhandsomely behav'd himselfe in an occasion when Palmer's troope marcht out with him to Elston. The governor sent a copie of this paper downe to Palmer's owne troope; and the lieftenant, coronett, and all the troopers, sent up a certificate, under their hands, of the falsehood of their captaine's accusation. After this Palmer came into the garrison, and made a grievous exclamation all over the towne against the governor and Mr. Pigott for traducing the ministers, Mr. Millington, and the committee; adding a false report, that the governor had throwne a trencher at his head; and abusing the pulpitt to perswade the people to vindicate them: among other things, he misapplied a place in Nehemiah, where Nehemiah says, "I eate not "the governor's bread, because the feare of the "Lord was upon me," to the governor; that his accepting a public table, was a mark of the want of the feare of God: and many other such mallitious wrestings of Scripture, did he and his fellow-priests at that time practise. The committee of Nottingham, on their side, taking this occasion, call'd a publick hall in the towne, where two orations were made by Mr. Millington and Coll. Chadwick. Millington began with a large enumeration of Chadwick's worthy actions, (known to no man,) whereby he merited honor of all men, especially of this towne; and then mentioning his owne good services for the towne, told them how ungratefully they were repay'd by Mr. Pigott, with the scandalous aspersion of drunkards and knaves; and that their singular affections and endeavours for the good of the towne, had expos'd them to this calumny, wherefore they desir'd the towne to ioyne in their iustification. Chadwick made iust such another speech, and both of them seem'd to passe by their owne particular, and only to desire the other's iustification; Chadwick, in his speech, saying that Mr. Pigott's abuse of Mr. Millington did not only asperse the committee, but even the parliament itselfe. Captaine Lomax, then deputy-governor of the garrison, after they had spoken, stood up, and advised the townesmen that they should forbeare to entangle themselves in things they understood not, adding that Mr. Pigott and the gentlemen at London were persons of such honor and prudence, that they would maintaine whatever they had spoken of any man. Hereupon Capt. Mason, and two mallignant townsmen of his souldiers, began to mutiny, with high insolence, and to lay violent hands on him to thrust him out of the hall, giving him most reproachfull terms; but the man being very stout, quieted them, and would not depart till the hall broke up. After this, without acquainting the deputy-governor, they summon'd another hall;

but Lomax seeing their inclination to mutiny forbade it. Then, at ten of the clock at night, they gott a common councell together, at Mr. Salisbury his house, and there Mr. Millington againe desired they would ioyne in the vindication of himselfe, the ministers, and the committee, and gott about eight of them to subscribe a blank paper. Then the committee, with certeine instruments of theirs, appoynted rounds to walke the towne, perswading some, and threatning others, to sett their hands to a petition, which none of them that subscribed it knew what it was, but they told them it was for the good of the towne.

All this while these pettie committee fellows had carried themselves as absolute governors, and Plumtre was now their intimate favourite, and began to vapour that he would have the castle pull'd downe to re-erect the church, and the fort at the bridges throwne downe, and all the arms and souldiers brought into the towne.

But at London, the governor being growne into acquaintance with the gentlemen of the subcommittee, that were to heare his businesse, and they perceiving with how much wicked mallice he was prosecuted, Sr. Henry Vane was so honorable as to give him advice to put his businesse in such a way, as might take away all colour from his enemies; whereupon he put in some propositions to the committee of both kingdomes, for the composure if these differences, wherein he was willing to decline all things of his owne right, which might be done without preiudice to the publick service, and to passe by all the iniuries that had bene done him; which condescension gave such satisfaction, that forthwith the whole businesse was determin'd at the committee of both kingdomes, and the governor sent back to his charge, with instructions drawne up for all parties, and letters written to the officers and souldiers, both of horse and foote, to be obedient; and likewise letters to the maior of the towne and the committee. The governor returning, word was brought to Nottingham, that on Friday night he lay at Leicester, whereupon the committee, who had heard the determination of things above, gott them ready to be gone, but the souldiers having notice thereof, went to the deputy-governor and entreated him to stop the treasurer; whereupon he and the maior of the regiment went to them, and entreated them to stay till the governor came, but to see what instructions he brought with him, from the powers above: but when they would not be perswaded fairely, then the deputy peremptorily forbad the treasurer, as he would answer it, not to goe. But he refusing to obey, the deputy told him he should passe on his sword's poynt if he went, and accordingly went downe to sett guards at the Trent bridges; which being told them, they made hast and fled out at the other end of the towne. Millington, Chadwick, Ayscough, Salisbury, and Mason, (whom they had gotten added to the committee to encrease their faction), were the committee men, who tooke with them their new marshall and another of their created officers, Palmer, two more priests, and a towne captaine. The governor was met on the way homewards by some of his officers, and told with what ioy his garrison and regiment were preparing to entertaine him, in all expressions they could possibly make by volleyes of cannon and musketts, and ringing of bells, and all such declarations as us'd to be made in a publick and universall reioycing; but the governor, fearing his enemies might not beare such testimonies of love to him, without griefe, sent into the towne to desire them to forbeare their kind intentions of giving him so lowd a wellcome. When he was now neere the towne, another messenger came to acquaint him, that all those who would have bene griev'd at his ioyful entertainment were fled, and that those who remained would be much griev'd, if he should not be pleas'd to give them leave to receive him with such demonstrations of their ioy as they could make. He now permitted them to doe what they pleas'd, which leave being obtein'd, every one strove to declare his gladnesse, with all imaginable expressions of love and honour, and all the solemnities the time and place would afford. The governor on his side receiv'd them with a cheerefull obliegıng curtesie to all, and a large bounty to his loving souldiers, who made that day as greate a festivall, as if themselves and their families had bene redeem'd from captivity. The maior of the towne, with his brethren in their scarletts, mett him, and told him, if he had bene guilty of aniething preiudicial to him, he was exceeding sorrie for it, for he infinitely honor'd him, and all his errors had bene through ignorance or misinformation, which he should be most ready to repayre. That evening White came home pining with spite and envie at the governor and the gentlemen that ioyn'd with him, viz. Coll. Thornhagh, Mr. Pigott, Lieftenant-collonnell Hutchinson, Maior Widmerpoole, Capt. Lomax, and Alderman James: for as to the maior of the towne, notwithstanding his faire professions publickly to the governor, White had the same night againe turn'd about that weathercock.

The next day the governor and the committee with him sent a command to all the horse in towne to march to the assistance of Derby and Leicester, to fortifie a house call'd Cole-orton, which not being taken notice of, the governor and Coll. Thornhagh summon'd all the horse officers, and declar'd to them the orders of the committee of both kingdoms, to which they chearefully promis'd obedience; but White being sent for among them, insolently refus'd to come up to the castle, and bade the governor come downe to him, to the committee's chamber; yet upon second thoughts he came up, and the governor tooke no notice for that time. Munday the governor sent to the maior to call a hall, but the maior entreated him to forbeare till they saw whither the committee-men that ran away would come back, and that he might goe with Capt. White to perswade them; both which the governor assented to; but the men would not returne, but went from Derby to London. Then the governor call'd a generall muster, and read to them the instructions he had brought from the committee of both kingdoms, with which all men were exceeding well pleas'd. But Captaine White all this while would not deliver the letters he had to the committee and the maior of Nottingham.

Some few days after word was brought the governor that the new dragoones were come for ammunition, to march out upon some designe he was not acquainted with, whereupon he sent to the guards at the bridges not to suffer them to passe without his tickett. Immediately after White came allong with them, and being denied to passe, gave the guards such provocative language that they were forc'd to send for the governor. He came downe and found White in high rage, who gave him all the vile terms and opprobrious language he could invent, to provoke him to some anger upon which he might have taken his advantage: but the governor only laught at his fogue*, and would not lett him goe till he shew'd a warrant from the councell of warre at London, and then he permitted him, after White had told him that he would not be commanded by him, and a thousand such mutinous speeches. As he went towards London he mett the horse coming home from Cole-orton, whom he told such lies of the governor's usage of him, that they were frighted from coming into the garrison, but that Coll. Thornhagh prevailed with them to take his engagement, that the governor should give them no ill usage. So they came back, and that weeke their collonell fell into the enemie's quarters with them and tooke eighty horse, two horse colours, a maior and some other officers. The bridge troope alsoe met with Coll. Stanhope, governor of Shelford *, who had two parties, each as many as they; his, where himselfe was, they routed, and he ran away, while the other party charg'd them in the reare, upon whom they turn'd, routed and chased them out of the field, tooke Lieftenant-collonell Stanhope and his ensigne, and many other prisoners, with many horse and arms. In the absence of the governor and his brother, the committee had done all they could to discourage and dissipate this troope, and would neither give them money nor provisions, yet, upon hopes of their captaine's

---

* French — *Fougue.*

---

* Here, viz. in the end of the year 1644, Shelford clearly appears to be a garrison for the king; yet Whitelock, p. 96, says that in July 1644, Lord Grey of Groby and Sir John Gell had the thanks of the parliament for taking it: this is an evident inaccuracy of Whitelock's, or a very successful puff of Sir John's. To put it out of doubt, Sprigge, in his Anglia Rediviva, counts it among the king's garrisons, May 1645: and Col. Hutchinson, supported by Rossiter, took it in person and by storm a year after that.

returne, they kept themselves together, and when the governor came home he recruited them.

The committee of both kingdoms had sent downe at this time an order for all the horse of Nottingham and Derbyshires to ioyne with three regiments of Yorkshire, and quarter about Newark, to streighten the enemie there, and accordingly they rendezvouz'd at Mansfield, and from thence marcht to Thurgarton, where Sr. Roger Cooper had fortified his house, and lin'd the hedges with musketeers, who as the troopes past by shott and kill'd one Capt. Heywood. Hereupon Coll. Thornhagh sent to the governor, and desir'd to borrow some foote to take the house. The governor accordingly lent him three companies, who tooke the house, and Sr. Roger Cooper and his brother, and forty men, in it, who were sent prisoners to Nottingham, where, although Sr. Roger Cooper was in greate dread to be put into the governor's hands, whom he had provok'd before upon a private occasion, yett he receiv'd such a civill treatment from him, that he seem'd to be much moov'd and melted with it. The foote had done all the service, and run all the hazard, in taking the house, yet the booty was all given to the horse: this they had very iust reason to resent, but notwithstanding they marcht allong with them to Southwell, and there were most sadly neglected, and put upon keeping outguards for the horse, and had no provisions, but the governor was forc'd to send them some out of his garrison, or elce they had bene left to horrible distresse. Hereupon they sent to the governor to desire they might come home, but upon Coll. Thornhagh's entreaty, and engagement that they should be better us'd, the governor was content to lett them stay a little longer, till more horse came up, which were sent for out of Yorkshire. In the meane time those who were there already did nothing but harrasse the poore country, and the horse officers were so negligent of their owne duty, and so remisse in the government of their souldiers, that the service was infinitely preiudic'd, and the poore country miserably distress'd. The Nottingham horse, being in their owne country, and having their famelies in and about Nottingham, were more guilty of stragling then any of the rest, and Captaine White's whole troope having presum'd to be away one night when they should have bene upon the guard, the Newakers beate up our quarters, and tooke allmost two whole troopes of that regiment. White's lieftenant, without any leave from the collonell, thereupon posted up to London, and contriv'd a complaint against the governor, to make him appeare guilty of this disorder: but soone after Newark gave them another alarum, and the parliament horse made so slender an appearance that the officers, thereupon consulting in a councell of warre, concluded that the designe was not to be prosecuted without more force, and for the present broke up their quarters.

The committee men that ranne away when the governor return'd had taken the treasurer away with them, and left neither any mony, nor so much as the rent rolls whereby the governor could be instructed where to fetch in any *, but by the prudence and interest of himselfe and his friends, he procur'd a month's pay for the foote, and twenty shillings a man for the horse †, as soone as he came home, and

---

* Rent rolls of sequestrated or forfeited estates.

† One out of many instances of Col. Hutchinson's generous devotion to the cause, which brought on him that load of debt so oppressive to him in the reverse of affairs. In p. 623 and 624 of Rushworth, Thornhagh's Nottinghamshire horse state that they had served five years, and received barely six shillings a week in all; and that there

recruited all the stores, which the committee had purposely wasted in his absence, and fetcht in a small stock of pouder they had lay'd in at Salisburie's house. While he was thus industriously setting things in order, which they had confounded, they at London were as mallitiously active to make more confusion. They contriv'd many false and frivolous articles and petitions against him, and proceeded to that degree of impudence in desiring alterations, and casting reflections upon the sub-committee itselfe, that they grew weary of them. Mr. Pierrepont and Sr. H. Vane, being now taken notice of as leaders of the Independent faction *, when those gentlemen out of mere iustice and honour dis-

---

was 40,000l. due to them. Judge from these two corps, Col. Hutchinson's being twelve hundred infantry, and two or three troops of dragoons, Thornhagh's about six hundred horse, what was the general state of the army as to pay! Mr. Sprigge might well say of the troops as he does, "it was not their pay that pacified them, for "had they not had more civility than money, things had "not been so fairly managed."

* Probably it was the experience these two excellent politicians had of Col. Hutchinson's abilities and integrity on this trial which induced them afterwards to take him for their associate.

countenanc'd their envy and mallice, they applied themselves to the Presbyterian faction, and insinuating to them that the iustice of those gentlemen was partiallity to the governor, because he was a protector of the now hated separatists, they prevail'd to have Sr. Philip Stapleton and Sr. Gilbert Garrett, two fierce presbyterians, added to the sub-committee, to ballance the other faction, and found this wicked invention not a little advantageous to them: yet Mr. Hollis, who was a person of honor, did not complie with their factious spirits, but gave the governor all iust assistance against their mallice which lay in his power. * But they quitting all modestie, and pressing the committee with false affirmations and forgeries, that all men would lay downe their arms if the governor were not remoov'd, at length they prevail'd, that he was the second time sent for to London to iustify himselfe against them. In that blank, to which they had by fraud and threats procur'd so many hands, they writt a petition, alledging that the governor was so generally de-

---

* Mrs. Hutchinson, who in other places speaks with much disapprobation of Mr. Hollis, here most candidly gives him his due.

tested, that if he were not remoov'd all men would fling downe their arms, and the subscriptions they thus abus'd were those they procur'd to vindicate Mr. Millington. Salisbury and one Silvester, had, for their owne profitt, gotten a commission to sett on foote the excise in the county, and ioyn'd with them one Sherwin. These two were such pragmaticall knaves, that they iustly became odious to all men, and allthough necessity might excuse the tax in other places, yet here it was such a burthen that no man of any honesty or conscience could have acted in it. For when plundering troopes kill'd all the poore countriemen's sheepe and swine, and other provisions, whereby many honest famelies were ruin'd and beggard, these unmercifull people would force excise out of them for those very goods which the other had robb'd them of, insomuch that the religious souldiers sayd they would starve before they would be employ'd in forcing it, or take any of it for their pay. The governor, being enclin'd in conscience to assist the poore country, was very active in his endeavours to relieve them from this oppression, which his enemies highly urg'd in their articles against him. These excisemen came very pressingly to urge the governor to enforce the payment of it in the towne; he told them before he would use compulsion he would trie faire meanes, and call a hall to see whether the townsmen would be perswaded, which accordingly he did: but when the day came the excisemen came to the governor and advis'd him to take a strong guard with him, telling him that the butchers had been whetting their knives, and intended mischiefe, and had cast out many words intimating a dangerous designe. The governor told them he should not augment his usuall guard, and could feare nothing, having no intent to do aniething that might provoke them to mutiny. They went againe to the men and told them the governor intended to come with many armed men, to compell them to pay it; whereupon when he came to the hall he found but a very slender appearance, yet those who were there were all fully resolv'd not to pay it; but the governor wrought with them to represent their reasons, in an humble manner, to the committee of both kingdoms, and that there should be a fuller meeting to that purpose the next weeke, and that in the meane time both parties should forbeare any private addresses in this matter. To this the excisemen agreed, yet notwithstanding the governor tooke a whole packett of their letters going to London, which when he discovered, he alsoe writt to his friends in London on behalfe of the garrison. The next weeke, at a full meeting, a petition was sign'd, which the governor offer'd the towne to have carried, being himselfe to goe up, but they in a complement refus'd to give him the trouble, pitching upon Capt. Coates and the towne-clearke to goe up with it. They accordingly went, about the time that, after seven weekes' stay in the garrison, the governor was call'd againe up to London to iustifie himselfe against the mallitious clamours of his adversaries. When Capt. Coates and the other came to London they applied themselves to Mr. Millington, who perceiving that the governor stood for the ease of the garrison, putt them into a way to frustrate their owne designes, and so they return'd home, and at the sessions, rend'ring the towne an account of their negotiations, they told them they found it an impossible thing to get the excise taken of; yett the governor knew a way how to ease them, but they fear'd he would be discouraged in it, because at his comming up he had found their disaffections expresst against him in a petition to cast him out of his command, " which," say'd the clearke, " you can-

“ not doe, for he still is and must be governor; “ therefore if any of you have bene cheated “ of your hands, contrary to your intentions “ and desires, you would doe well to testify “ your honesty, by disclaiming what goes on “ under your name.” Soone after these mallignants stirr’d up the souldiers to mutiny, and there being no governor in the garrison that could tell how to order them otherwise, they were appeas’d with money; upon which occasion a general muster being called, the maior told the soldiers how they were iniured at London by a petition, preferr’d in the name of the whole garrison, to cast the governor out of his command, which if it were not their desire, he wisht them to certifie the contrary. They all with one voyce cried, they desir’d no other governor: whereupon a certificate to that purpose was drawne up; but when it came to be subscrib’d certeine of the committee faction went up and downe perswading the companies not to subscribe, and when they found how little they prevailed, they foamed for anger, and such mallitious rayling, that one of the governor’s souldiers, not able to beare them longer, cried out, “ Why do we “ suffer these fellows to vapour thus? let’s “ clout them out of the field:” but the maior hearing it, committed him; and the next morning the certificate went up, subscrib'd with seven hundred townsmen's hands. After all was done, the maior gave some small summe to the souldiers to drinke, and the mallitious faction, when they saw they could not hinder this certificate, made another false one of their owne, that the maior had with crownes apiece hired all these subscriptions, with other such like lies, which when they could not make good, 'tis sayd they retracted their certificate at London.

The committee at London could never finish the businesse by reason of the impertinent clamours of the governor's enemies, therefore at length, wearied with the continuall endlesse papers they had dayly brought in, they made an order, wherein they assign'd a certeine day for the determination of the power, and in the meane time commanded all matter of crimination on both sides should be forborne. At the day they both appeared, but Mr. Millington presented a petition of a most insolent nature, and fresh articles against the governor, which gave the committee much distast. The petition was, that whereas the committee had kept them ten weekes at greate charges, they desir'd a speedy dispatch now, according to their propositions. The committee were much offended at this, and told them they did them much iniury to lay their stay upon them, who five weekes before desir'd them to returne, and only leave a sollicitor for each, and then they refus'd it ; that they had broken their first orders, and given no satisfaction for it, and now alsoe their last, in bringing in articles against the governor. They tooke it very ill that they, who were plaintiffs, should prescribe to them, who were iudges, how to determine the businesse ; wherefore they order'd that the governor should returne and persue his first instructions, till he receiv'd new ones, and that the businesse should be reported to the house. The governor sent his brother downe to take care of the garrison, and stay'd himselfe to receive the finall determination of the house, where Mr. Millington, through his interest, kept of the report, by severall tricks and uniust delayes, about three or foure months.

When the lieftenant-collonell came downe the captaines were wonderfull obedient, and all things pretty quiet, but the governor's officers were discourag'd at the countenance which was given his enemies, and the impunitie of all the crimes of that faction. He having a certeine spiritt of government, in an extraordinary manner, which was not given to others, carrying an awe in his presence that his enemies could not withstand, the garrison was much disorder'd by his absence, and in dayly perill, although the lieftenant-collonell was as faithfull and industrious in managing that charge as any person could be, and as excellent a person, but in a different way from his brother. Firmnesse and zeale to the cause, and personall vallour he had equal, but that vigour of soule which made him invincible against all assaults, and overcame all difficulties he mett in his way, was proper to himselfe alone. The lieftenant-collonell was a man of the kindest heart and the most humble familliar deportment in the world, and liv'd with all his souldiers as if they had bene his brothers, dispencing with that reverence which was due to him, and living chearefull and merry, and familliar with them, in such a manner that they celebrated him, and profest the highest love in the world, and would magnifie his humillity and kindnesse, and him for it, in a high degree above his brother; but with all this they grew so presumptuous that, when any obedience was exacted beyond their humors or apprehensions, they would often dare to faile in their duty; whereas the governor, still keeping a greater distance though with no more pride, preserv'd an awe that made him to be equally fear'd and lov'd, and though they secretly repin'd at their subiection, yet durst they not refuse it; and, when they came to render it on greate occasions, they found such wisedome and such advantage in all his dictates that, their reason being convinc'd of the benefit of his government, they delighted in it, and accounted it a happiness to be under his command, when any publick necessity superseded the mutiny of those private lusts, whereby all men naturally, but especially vulgar spiritts, would cast of their bridle, and be their owne only rulers. *

As the governor's absence was the occasion of many neglects in the government, not by his brother's fault, but the souldiers, who wanting of their pay (which while the committee should have been providing, they were spending it in vexatious prosecutions of the governor), and therefore discontented, and through that carelesse of their duty; soe, on the other side, the

---

* In the delineation of characters Mrs. Hutchinson remarkably excels. Nothing can be more amiable than that which she here draws of Mr. George Hutchinson; and this character he will be found to sustain with increased esteem to the end of the history.

cavaliers, who were not ignorant of the dissentions in the garrison, tooke the advantage, and surpriz'd the lieftenant-collonell's fort at the Trent bridges, while he was employ'd in keeping the castle. His souldiers in his absence lying out of their quarters, had not left above thirty men upon the guard, who were most of them kill'd, the ensigne fighting it out very stoutly, after their entrance, till he died. The lieftenant-collonell was exceedingly aflicted with this losse, but presently applied himselfe to secure what remain'd. The whole towne was in a sad uproare, and this happ'ning upon a Lord's day in the morning, in May, 1645, all the people were in such a consternation that they could keepe no sabbath that day. Then the lieftenant-collonell had an experiment of vulgar spiritts, for even his owne souldiers, who were guilty of the losse of the place by being out of their quarters, began to exclaime against him for a thousand causelesse things; and although he labour'd amongst them with as much courage and vigour as any man could use, to settle their spiritts and regaine the place, yet they slighted him most uniustly, and all cried out now to have the governor sent for, as if he himselfe had bene their castle.

Immediately after the unhappie surprize of the bridges the lieftenant-collonell sent away to his brother a post, who by some of the lower fords got over the water, and carried his sad newes to London. A trumpett was sent to the bridges and obtein'd the dead bodies of the souldiers who were slaine at the surprize, and they were brought up to the towne in carts and buried. There was about twenty of them, very good and stout men, though it avail'd them not in their last need, when a multitude had seiz'd them unawares. All that day a body of the enemie fac'd the towne, which through terrors without and discouragements and discontents within, was in a very sad posture. The mallignant faction against the governor improv'd even this occasion, and suggested to the towne that the castle would be the cause of their ruine; that the governor and his souldiers would secure themselves there, and leave the towne undefended; and because the lieftenant-collonell was very strict that none of the castle souldiers should lie out of their quarters, least that place might be surpriz'd as well as the other, the townsmen renew'd their raylings against the castle, and their mallice to all that were in it, but the lieftenant-collonell, regarding none of their uniust raylings, by God's blessing upon his vigilance, kept the towne and castle till his brother's returne.

Assoone as the newes came to the governor at London, he thought it time to throw of that patience with which he had hitherto waited at greate expence, and went to the parliament-house before the house sate, and there acquainted the speaker what was befallen at Nottingham, desireing he might be called to make a relation of it in the open house, or elce told the speaker though he died for it, he would presse in and lett them know, how much the cause suffer'd by the indirect practises, which were partially conniv'd at in some of their members. The speaker seeing him so resolv'd, procur'd him, when the house was sett, to be call'd in; and there he told them, how their fort was lost, and, for ought he knew, the garrison, by that time, which was no more than what he had long expected, through the countenance that was, by one of their members, given to a mallignant faction, that obstructed all the publick service, disturb'd all the honest souldiers and officers in their duty, and spent the publick treasury, to carrie on their private mallice. He further told them, how dishonorable, as well as destructive to their cause, it was, that their members should be protected in such uniust prosecutions, and should make the privelledge of the house their shelter to oppresse the most active and faithfull of their servants. This and many other things he told them, with such boldnesse, that many of the guilty members had a mind to have committed him, but with such truth and convincing reason, that all those of more generous spiritts, were much moov'd by it, and angrie that he had bene so iniuriously treated, and desir'd him to take post downe and to use all means to regaine the place, and gave him full orders to execute his charge without disturbance. * From that time Mr. Millington so lost his creditt, that he never recover'd the esteeme he formerly had among them; and after that time, the governor's enemies perceiving they were not able to mate † him, made no more publick attempts, though they continued that private mallice, which was the naturall product of that antipathie there was, betweene his vertues and their vices. ‡ Neither was it his case

---

* How would a similar expostulation, made at the bar of the honourable house, be received at the present day?

† Mate, conquer; Fr., matter, an expression taken from the game of chess.

‡ It must almost have exhausted the patience of the reader, and certainly have excited his highest indignation, to follow through all their mazes the crafty and atrocious persecutors of Col. Hutchinson; at the same time that it must have been a great consolation to him to see integrity supported by discretion thus work out its own preservation. We may now congratulate him on emerging from

only; allmost all the parliament-garrisons were infested and disturb'd with like factious little people, insomuch that many worthy gentlemen were wearied out of their commands, and opprest by a certeine meane sort of people in the house, whom to distinguish from the more honourable gentlemen, they call'd *Worsted Stocking Men.* Some as violently curb'd their committees, as the committees factiously molested them.* Nor was the faction only in particular garrisons, but the parliament-house itselfe began to fall into the two greate oppositions, of Presbytery and Independency: and, as if discord had infected the whole English ayre with an epidemicall heart-burning and dissention in all places, even the king's councells and garrisons were as factiously devided. The king's commissioners and the governor at Newark fell into such high discontents, that Sr. Richard Biron, the governor, was changed, and Sr. Richard Willis put into his place.† This accident of the

---

these mists and intricacies, and finding himself in open field and daylight, where the colonel's nobler virtues can display themselves.

* These were but the natural consequences of a state of revolution. Did these worsted-stocking men bear no likeness to the Jacobins of modern days?

† The same who afterwards became a spy for Cromwell; a bad substitute for the loyal Biron!

bridges put an end to that vexatious persecution wherewith the governor had had many sore exercises of his wisdome, patience, and courage, and many experiences of God's mercy and goodnesse, supporting him in all his trialls, and bearing him up against all discouragements, not only to stand without the least deiection himselfe, but to be able to hold up many others, who were readie to sinke under the burthen of unrighteousnesse and oppression, where they expected iust thankes and rewards. It cost the governor above three hundred pounds to defend himselfe againse their calumnies, renewed forgeries, and scandalls, lay'd upon him; but God was with him in all in a wonderfull manner, bringing truth to light through all the clowds of envie, that sought to obscure it, and making his innocence and uprightnesse to shine forth as the noone-day, iustifying him even in the eyes of his enemies, and covering them with shame and confusion of face. They maintain'd their prosecution of him out of the publick stock, and were not call'd to account for so mis-spending it. Mr. Millington perceiving how much he had lost himselfe by it, applied himselfe to seeke a reconciliation by flattering letters, and professions of conviction and repentance of his uniust siding with those men. The governor, who was of a most reconcileable nature, forgave him, and ever after lived in good friendship with him.* Others of them alsoe afterwards, when they saw the governor out of their power, some through feare, and others overcome with his goodnesse, submitted to him, who liv'd to see the end of them all, part of them dying before any disgrace or greate sorrowes overtooke him, and those who surviv'd, renouncing and apostatizing from their most glorious engagements, and becoming guilty of those crimes for which they falsely accused him, while he remain'd firme, and dying seal'd up the profession of his life ; in all the future difficulties of which, he was still borne up with the experience of God's goodnesse and manifold protections.

The governor being dismist from the parliament, immediately tooke post, and coming through Northampton, mett his old engineer Hooper, and brought him with him to Nottingham, where, by God's mercy, he arriv'd safe about three dayes after the losse of the bridges, and was wellcom'd, as if safety and victory and all desireable blessings had come in his traine. His presence reinforc'd the drooping garrison, and he immediately consulted how to goe about regaining the fort. To this purpose, and to hinder the enemie from having an inlett into the towne by the bridges, he made a little fort on the next bridge, and put a lieftenant and thirty men into it, thereby enclosing those in the fort the enemie had surpriz'd, whom he resolv'd to assault on the towne side, having thus provided that their friends should not come from the other side * to helpe them. But those of Newark understanding this, came as strong as they could one morning and assaulted the little new fort, where the Lieftenant Hall, failing of that courage which he had profess'd when he begg'd the honour of keeping it, gave it up, which the governor seeing on the other side, was excedingly vext, and marcht up to the bridge to assault them in that fort, but found that they had only storm'd the other

---

* As Mr. Millington will figure no more in this history, the reader is here informed that he finished his career, after becoming one of the judges who sentenced Charles the First, by coming in upon proclamation, making a pitiful recantation, and being sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

---

* To understand this rightly it is necessary to be informed, that in approaching Nottingham from the south there is a very wide valley, through which the Trent and the Lene run in several branches, over which are bridges united by a causeway.

little fort to make their owne way to be gone, and that they had made shift to get to their friends upon the ribs of two broken arches, which, when they had serv'd to helpe their passage, they pull'd up, to hinder persuite after them: and thus in a month's space God restor'd to the governor the fort which was lost in his absence, and he new fortified the place, and repair'd the bridges, whereby the greate markett out of the vale was againe brought into the towne, to their exceeding ioy and benefitt.

This summer there was another kind of progresse made in the warre then had bene before, and the new parliament-armie prosecuting it so much in earnest, that they made a shew to block up the king in his maine garrison at Oxford, he breakes out, and ioyning with Prince Rupert's horse, came, after severall attempts otherwhere, to Leicester, which he tooke by storme. The losse of this towne was a greate afliction and terror to all the neighbouring garrisons and countries, whereupon Fairfax closely attended the king's motions, came within a few dayes and fought with the king, and overcame him in that memorable battle at Naseby, where his coach and cabinett of letters were taken; which letters being carried to London were printed, and manifested his falsehood, when, contrary to his professions, he had endeavour'd to bring in Danes and Lorrainers, and Irish rebells, to subdue the good people here, and given himselfe up to be govern'd by the queene in all affaires both of state and religion.* After this fight Fairfax tooke againe the towne of Leicester, and went into the west, reliev'd Taunton, tooke Bristoll, and many other garrisons. West Chester alsoe and other places were taken that way. Meanwhile the king, having coasted about the countries, came at last to Newark, and there his commanders falling out among themselves, he changed the governor, and putt the Lord Bellasis into the place, and went himselfe to Oxford, where he was at last block'd up.

When Sr. Thomas Fairfax was made chiefe generall, Poyntz was made maior-generall of the northerne counties, and a committee of warre was set up at Yorke, whereof Coll. Pierrepont, by his brother's procurement, was appoynted one, and pretty well satisfied, as thinking himselfe againe sett above Coll. Hutchinson, because all the northerne garrisons were to receive orders from that committee : but the governor, heeding not other men's exaltations or depressions, only attended his owne dutie. About the latter end of this summer, Poyntz came to Nottingham with all the horse that could be gather'd in the neighbouring counties. He had before marcht with them and the Nottingham regiment in Cheshire, and brought severall gentlemen prisoners into the garrison of Nottingham, who had bene taken in divers encounters. When he marcht out, Palmer the priest, not daring to venture himselfe in the field, layd downe his commission, when he saw that there was now no connivance to be found at disobeying commands.

---

* The public is in possession of these, they having been printed by the parliament, which some have thought a hardship, but surely without reason. It is useless here to discuss the question as to what help it was allowable for the king to call in, but it is out of all question that the discovery of that bitterness with which he was inclined to pursue the quarrel, and the fraudulency with which he had managed treaties, and shewed that he meant to do others, cut up by the roots both compassion and confidence.

By reason of the rout at Naseby, and the surrender of Carlisle to the Scotts, and severall other garrisons, the broken forces of the cavaliers had all repayr'd to Newark, and that was now become the strongest and best fortified garrison the king had, and Poyntz was order'd to quarter his horse about it, till the Scotts should come on the other side and besiege it. At that time alsoe the king himselfe was there.*

---

* Having come hither from Wales with a body of three

The governor having inform'd Poyntz how preiudiciall it would be to his designe to suffer those little garrisons in the vale at Shelford and Wiverton to remaine, it was agreed that all the forces should take them in their way. But the governor having obtein'd permission of Poyntz, through a respect he had to the famely, sent to Coll. Phillip Stanhope, governor of Shelford, a letter to persuade him to surrender the place he could not hold, and to offer him to obteine honorable termes for him, if he would harken to propositions. Stanhope return'd a very scornefull, huffing replie, in which one of his expressions was, that he should lay Nottingham-castle as flatt as a pancake, and such other bravadoes, which had bene lesse amisse, if he had done aniething to make them good. Hereupon the whole force marcht against the place, and the several posts were assign'd to the severall collonells. The governor, according to his owne desire, had that which seem'd most difficult assign'd to him, and his quarters that night appoynted in Shelford towne. When he came thither, a few of Shelford souldiers were gotten into the steeple of the church, and from thence so play'd upon the governor's men that

---

thousand men; he staid till fearing to be besieg'd by the Scots, who were approaching, he went away by night to Oxford, Nov. 6. 1645.

they could not quietly take up their quarters. There was a trap-doore that went into the bellfrie, and they had made it fast, and drawne up the ladder and the bell-ropes, and regarded not the governor's threat'ning them to have no quarter if they came not downe, so that he was forc'd to send for straw and fire it, and smother them out. Hereupon they came downe, and among them there was a boy who had marcht out with the governor's company, when he went first against Newark, and carried himselfe so stoutly that Capt. Wray begg'd him for a footeboy; and when his troope was once taken by the enemie this boy, being taken among them, became one of their souldiers. The governor making him believe he should be hang'd immediately for changing his party, and for holding out to their disturbance, where he could not hope for reliefe, the boy begg'd he might be spar'd, and offer'd to lead them on to a place, where only they could enter, where the palisadoe was unfinisht. The governor, without trusting to him, consider'd the probability of his information, kept him under guard, and sett him in the front of his men, and he accordingly proov'd to have told them truth in all that he had sayd, and did excellent good service, behaving himselfe most stoutly. The governor being arm'd, and ready to begin the assault, when the rest were alsoe ready, Capt. White came to him, and, notwithstanding all his former mallitious prosecutions, now pretends the most tender care and love that could be declared, with all imaginable flattery, and perswades the governor not to hazard himselfe in so dangerous an attempt, but to consider his wife and children, and stand by among the horse, but by no meanes to storme the place in his owne person. Notwithstanding all his false insinuations, the governor perceiv'd his envie at that honor which his vallour was ready to reape in this encounter, was exceeding angrie with him, and went on upon the place. This being seated on a flatt, was encompass'd with a very strong bullwarke, and a greate ditch without, in most places wett at the bottom, so that they within were very confident, there being no cannon brought against them, to hold it out; because alsoe a broken regiment of the queene's, who were all papists, were come in to their assistance. A regiment of Londoners were appoynted to storme on the other side, and the governor at the same time began the assault at his post. His men found many difficulties more then they expected, for after they had fill'd up the ditches with faggots, and pitcht the scaling ladders, they were twenty staves too short, and the enemie, from the top of the workes, threw downe loggs of wood, which would sweep of a whole ladder-full of men at once: the lieftenant-collonell himselfe was once or twice so beaten downe. The governor had order'd other musketeers to beate of those men that stood upon the top of the workes, which they fail'd of by shooting without good ayme, but the governor directed them better, and the Nottingham horse dismounting, and assailing with their pistols and headpieces, helpt the foote to beate them downe from the top of the worke, all except one stout man, who stood alone, and did wonders in beating downe the assailants, which the governor being angrie at, fetcht two of his owne musketeers and made them shoot, and he immediately fell, to the greate discouragement of his fellows. Then the governor himselfe first enter'd, and the rest of his men came in as fast as they could. But while his regiment was entering on this side, the Londoners were beaten of on the other side, and the maine force of the garrison turn'd upon him. The cavaliers had halfe moones within, which were as good a defence to them as their first workes; into these the souldiers that were of the queene's regiment were gotten, and they in the house shott out of all the windores. The governor's men, assoone as they gott in, had taken the stables and all their horses, but the governor himselfe was fighting with the captaine of the papists and some others, who, by advantage of the halfe moone and the house, might have prevail'd to cutt of him and those that were with him, which were not many. The enemie being strengthen'd by the addition of those who had beaten of the assailants on the other side, were now trying their utmost to vanquish those that were within. The lieftenant-collonell, seeing his brother in hazard, made haste to open the draw-bridge, that Poyntz might come in with his horse, which he did, but not before the governor had kill'd that gentleman who was fighting with him, at whose fall his men gave way. Poyntz seeing them shoote from the house, and apprehending the king might come to their reliefe, when he came in, order'd that no quarter should be given. And here the governor was in greater danger then before, for the strangers hearing him call'd governor, were advancing to have kill'd him, but that the lieftenant-collonell, who was very watchful to preserve him all that day, came in to his rescue, and scarcely could persuade them that it was the governor of Nottingham, because he, at the beginning of the storme, had put off a very good suite of armor that he had, which being muskett proof, was so heavy that it heated him, and so he would not be persuaded by his friends to weare aniething but his buffe coate. The governor's men, eager to compleate their victory, were forcing their entrance into the house, meanewhile Rossiter's men came and tooke away all their horses, which they had taken when they first enter'd the workes and wonne the stables, and left in the guard of two or three, while they were persuing their worke. The governor of Shelford, after all his bravadoes, came but meanely of: 'tis sayd he sate in his chamber, wrapt up in his cloake, and came not forth that day; but that avail'd him not, for how, or by whom, it is not known, but he was wounded and stript, and flung upon a dunghill. The lieftenant-collonell, after the house was master'd, seeing the disorder by which our men were readie to murther one another, upon the command Poyntz had issued to give no quarter, desir'd Poyntz to cause the slaughter to cease, which was presently obey'd, and about seven score prisoners sav'd. While he was thus busied, enquiring what was become of the governor, he was shewn him naked upon the dunghill; whereupon the lieftenant-collonell call'd for his owne cloake and cast it over him, and sent him to a bed in his owne quarters, and procur'd him a surgeon. Upon his desire he had a little priest, who had bene his father's chaplaine, and was one of the committee faction; but the man was such a pittifull comforter, that the governor, who was come to visitt him, was forc'd to undertake that office: but though he had all the supplies they could all wayes give him, he died the next day.* The house which belong'd to his father the Earle of Chesterfield was that night burnt, none certeinely knowing by what meanes, whether by accident or on purpose, but there was most ground to believe that the country people, who had been sorely infested by that garrison, to prevent the keeping it by those who had taken it, purposely sett it on fire. If the queene's regiment had mounted their horses and stood ready upon them, when our men enter'd, they had undoubtedly cutt them all of, but they standing to the workes, it pleas'd God to lead them into that path he had ordein'd for their destruction, who being papists, would not receive quarter, nor were they much offer'd it, being kill'd in the heate of the contest, so that not a man of them escap'd.

---

* Thoroton, in his history of Notts, says, "Shelford-" house was a garrison for the king, and commanded by " Col. Philip Stanhope, son of the first Earl of Chester-" field, which being taken by storm, he and many of his " soldiers were therein slain, and the house afterwards " burned; his brother Ferdinando Stanhope was slain " some time before by a parliament soldier at Bridgford." This last happened in that skirmish with the bridge soldiers recited in page 53, where he is said only to be made prisoner.——Lady Catherine Hutchinson, who attested the remark to Col. Hutchinson her son-in-law's disadvantage, vol. i. page 254, was the sister of the Earl of Chesterfield, and of course aunt of Col. Stanhope, and as she takes no exception to it, we may safely give credit to this story of the storming of Shelford, with all its circumstances: a very interesting one it certainly is, and told in the most unaffected, and therefore most affecting, manner; the scene with which it finishes is surely as striking and as singular as any that story or imagination can furnish, not excepting the death of Le Fevre in the Sentimental Journey.

The next day our party went to Wiverton, a house of the lord Chaworth's, and that, terrified with the example of the other, yielded upon termes, and was by order pull'd downe and render'd uncapable of being any more a garrison.

Poyntz now quarter'd all his horse in the townes about Newark, and in regard he had no peculiar regiment of his owne, the governor's regiment serv'd him for his guards. The Scotts alsoe came and quarter'd on the other side of the towne towards the north.

All that winter the governor lay at the Leaguer, and about Christmasse time writts were sent downe for new elections to fill up the parliament. There being a burgesseship voyd at Nottingham, the towne would needs, in a compliment, make the governor free, in order to an election of him for the parliament. Mr. Francis Pierrepont hearing this, writt to the governor to desire that he would rather come into his father's place in the county, and give him his assistance in this, as he should engage his owne and all his friends' interest for him in the county. The governor, who was ever readie to requite iniuries with benefitts, employ'd his interest in the towne to satisfie the gentleman's desire, and having very many that had voyces in his regiment, he sent for them all home the night before the day of election; which had like to have bene a very sad one, but that by the mercy of God, and the courage of Poyntz and the lieftenant-collonell and Capt. Poulton, it had not so bad event.* The Newarkers, hearing that so many of the regiment were away, fell into their quarters, and most of the men being surpriz'd, were rather endeavouring flight then resistance, when the lieftenant-collonell and Capt. Poulton rallied all they could find, lin'd some pales with musketeers, and beate the enemie againe out of the quarters, and Poyntz mounting with as many horse as were about him, which was very few, follow'd them in the night up to the very workes of Newark. Some losse there was in the quarters, but nothing considerable; some souldiers ran away home, and brought the governor word they were all cut off, but his brother sent a messenger to acquaint him the contrary. Hereupon, immediately after the election, he return'd back again with his men. Not long after, the elections were made for the county, who all pitcht upon the governor, in his father's roome. White, whose envie never died, used all the endeavours he could to have hinder'd it,

---

* A fair and honest acknowledgment of a considerable oversight! But this passage leads us to observe of what sort of people the parliament armies were composed, viz. the horse mostly of freeholders, the foot of burghers. It will not probably be thought beside the purpose to quote here Whitelock's description of Cromwell's own regiment. "He had a brave regiment of his countrymen, most of

---

" them freeholders and freeholders' sons, and who upon
" matter of conscience engaged in this quarrel; and thus
" being well armed within by the satisfaction of their own
" consciences, and without by good iron arms, they
" would, as one man, stand firmly and charge desperately."
These circumstances must be allowed their due weight, when we come to consider the right of the army to interfere in matters of state.

but when he saw he could doe no harme, with a sad heart, under a false face, he came and tooke his part of a noble dinner the new knights had provided for the gentlemen of the country. Without any competition Mr. Hutchinson had the first voyce, in the roome of his father, and Mr. Pigott the second, in the roome of Mr. Sutton, now a commissioner at Newark. About the same time Coll. Thornhagh was chosen burgesse for the towne of Retford; but none of them went up to their places in parliament till the siege of Newark was finisht.

Poyntz drew a line about the towne, and made a very regular entrenchment and approaches, in such a souldier-like manner as none of them who attempted the place before had done. Most of that winter they lay in the field, and the governor, carried on by the vigor and greatnesse of his mind, felt no distemper then by that service, which all his captaines and the souldiers themselves endur'd worse than he. Besides dayly and howerly providences, by which they were preserv'd from the enemie's cannons and sallies, there were some remarkable ones, by which God kept the governor's life in this leaguer. Once as Poyntz and he, and another captaine were riding to view some quarter of the towne, a cannon bullett came whizzing by them, as they were riding all abrest, and the captaine, without any touch of it, sayd he was kill'd; Poyntz bid him get of, but he was then sliding downe from his horse, slaine by the wind of the bullet: they held him up till they gott off from the place, but the man immediately turn'd black all over. Another time the governor was in his tent, and by chance call'd out; when he was scarce out of it, a cannon bullett came and tore up the whole tent, and kill'd the sentinell at the doore. But the greate perill, wherein all of the English side were, was the treachery of the Scotts, which they had very good reason to apprehend might have bene the cutting of of all that force. Sr. Thomas Fairfax had now besieg'd Oxford, and the king was stollen out of the towne and gone in disguize, no man knew whither, but at the length he came into the Scotts armie. They had before behav'd themselves very odly to the English, and bene taking sundrie occasions to pick quarrels, when at the last certeine news was brought to the English quarters that the king was come to the Scotts, and by them receiv'd at Southwell. The English could then expect nothing but that the Scotts, ioyning with those that were in Newark, would fall upon them, who were far inferior number to the other, and therefore they all prepar'd themselves as well as they could to defend themselves in their trenches. The governor had then very fine horses at the Leaguer, which he sent home to the garrison; but while they were in expectation of being thus fallen upon, the king had more mind to be gone, and because the Scotts knew not how to breake up their quarters while the towne was not taken, the king sent to my lord Bellasis, the governor of Newark, to surrender up the place immediately, which he did upon prettie handsome termes, but much discontented that the king should have no more regard to them who had bene so constant to his service.* The governor with his regiment was appoynted to receive the towne and the arms, and to quarter in it; where now he went upon the greatest danger of all, for the towne was all over sadly infected with the plague; yet it so pleased God that neither he nor any of these fresh men caught the infection, which was so raging there that it allmost desolated the place.

Whether the king's ill councell or destinie led him, he was very failing in this action, for had he gone streight up to the parliament and cast himselfe upon them, as he did upon the Scotts, he had in all probability ruin'd them, who were highly devided betweene the Presbiterian and Independent factions: but in putting himselfe into the hands of their mercenary Scotch armie, rather than the parliament of England, he shew'd such an embitter'd hate to the English nation, that it turn'd many hearts against him. The Scotts in this businesse were very false both to the parliament and the king. For them to receive and carrie away the king's person with them, when they were but a hired armie, without either the consent or knowledge of the parliament, was a very false carriage of them; but besides that, wee had *certeine evidences* that they were prepar'd, and had an intent to have cut of the English armie, who beleaguer'd Newark*, but that God changed their councells and made them take another course, which was to carrie the king to Newcastle,

---

* Among the names of those who signed the capitulation on the part of the parliament (as it appears in Rushworth) are those of Col. Hutchinson and Col. Twissleton.

---

* It has always been, and perhaps will always remain a mystery, what were the conditions or engagements on which the king relied in putting himself into the hands of the Scots. In Clarendon's State papers there are several letters from the French ambassador, persuading him to this measure, and undertaking for the Scots to give him effectual support; and the king wrote very positively to Ormond a letter, which was intercepted, and is produced by Rushworth, that the Scots had given him good security that they would join their forces to those of Montrose and the king's friends. On the other side, the general and committee of estates resident in the Scots

army wrote, that "the king came privately into their "camp, and that there had been no *treaty* nor *capitulation* with him by them, nor any in their names, and "that the assertion of the king in his letter to Ormond "was a *damnable untruth.*" Heylin, in his Hist. of Presbyter. says, "The commissioners residing with the Scotch "army, promised protection to the king and his friends, "but broke their promise and sold him for 200,000*l.* *as* "*they would have done our Saviour for half the money.*" In another place he says, "Lowdon ranted to some tune "about the disgrace of selling the king; but however the "Presbyterians on both sides concluded the sinful bar-"gain." Not to dwell upon what is elsewhere said on either side of the question, the symptoms of treachery discerned by Col. Hutchinson and others before and at the time of the king's arrival, give ample reason to conclude that the Scots were aware of his coming, and that either there were two parties, one of which was devoted to the king and the other not so, and that the latter was prevalent, or else that the whole expected from the king conditions which he was unwilling to perform, and principally the signing the covenant, the refusal of which they afterwards openly resented, and this might be that "change God is said to make in their counsels."

There is much less doubt as to the justice of Mrs. Hutchinson's reflection, that of all courses, that he took was the worst: she, who had a truly British heart, well knew what effect ingenuous confidence would have had on the parliament, with the virtues as well as vices of which she was well acquainted. The parliament had asked him to "come to them with a royal, not martial, where they againe sold him to the parliament for a summe of monie.

The country now being clear'd of all the enemies garrisons, Collonell Hutchinson went up to London, to attend his duty there, and to serve his country, as faithfully, in the capacity of a senator, as he had before, in that of a souldier. When he came there, he found a very bitter spiritt of discord and envie raging, and the presbyterian faction, of which were most of those lords and others, that had been lay'd aside by the self-denying ordinance, endeavouring a violent persecution, upon the account of conscience, against those who had in so short a time accomplisht, by God's blessing, that victory which he was not pleas'd to bestow on them. Their directory of worship was at length sent forth for a three yeares triall, and such as could not conforme to it,

---

" attendance, and promised to receive him well." The last message passed on March 23, and in a few days after he went to the Scots army. *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.* Those whom God destines to destruction he deprives of their understanding. Artifice, which was Charles's greatest fault, was likewise his ruin, and he fell not like a conquered prince, as *præda victoris,* a noble prize for the victor, but *pretium sceleris,* the object of a scandalous traffic, apprehended and sold as a culprit and fugitive; and forfeited his last resource, that respect and pity which the generous reserve for the unfortunate.

mark'd out with an evil eie, hated and persecuted under the name of Separatist.* Coll. Hutchinson, who abhorr'd that mallitious zeale and imposing spiritt which appeared in them, was soon taken notice of, for one of the independent faction †, [whose heads were accounted Pierrepont, Vane,
St. Johns, and some few other grandees, being men that excell'd in wisdome and utterance, and the rest believ'd to adhere to them, only out of faction, as if those who did not vainegloriously lay out themselves, without necessitie, but chose rather to heare and vote, had had no understanding of right and wrong, but from the dictates of these great oracles.] Though, to speake the truth, they very little knew Coll. Hutchinson, that could say he was of any faction, for he had a strength of iudg-

---

* Mrs. Hutchinson differs from most of those who have written on the subject, respecting the rise and progress of the deadly feuds between the presbyterians and independents; but she differs not from the truth and reason. Certainly the most impartial historian is Rapin; but he, though a presbyterian, and labouring their defence, effects their condemnation. Vol. ii. p. 624., he says, "They "thought themselves in slavery if themselves did not "command." What need of more words?

† All that is contained between these two brackets had lines struck through it in the manuscript, and one of the names defaced.

ment able to consider things himselfe and propound them to his conscience, which was so upright that the veneration of no man's person allive, nor the love of the dearest friend in the world, could make him doe the least thing, without a full perswasion, that it was his duty so to act. He very well understood men's guifts and abilities, and honour'd those most, whom he believ'd to manage them with most uprightnesse of soule, for God's glory and the good of his country, and was so farre from envying the iust renowne any man acquir'd that he reioic'd in it. He never was any man's sectary, either in religious or civill matters, farther then he apprehended them to follow the rules of religion, honor, and virtue; nor any man's antagonist, but as he oppos'd that which appear'd to him iust and equall. If the greatest enemie he had in the world, had propounded aniething profitable to the publick, he would promote it: whereas some others were to blame in that particular, and chiefely those of the presbiterian faction, who would obstruct any good, rather then those they envied and hated should have the glory of procuring it; the sad effects of which pride grew at length to be the ruin of the most glorious cause that ever was contended for. At the first many gentlemen, eminent in guifts and acquirements, were as eminent in zealous improvement of them, for the advantage of God's and their countries interests, whereby they obtain'd iust glory and admiration among all good men; but while the creature was so magnified, God, that was the principall author, was not look'd upon, and gave them therefore up to become their owne and other's idolls, and so to fall.

And now it grew to a sad wonder, that the most zealous promoters of the cause were more spitefully carried against their owne faithfull armies, by whom God had perfected their victory over their enemies, then against the vanquish'd foe; whose restitution they henceforth secretly endeavour'd, by all the arts of treacherous, dissembling pollicy; only that they might throw downe those whom God had exalted in glory and power to resist their tirannicall impositions. At that time, and long after, they prevail'd not, 'till that pious people too began to admire themselves for what God had done by them, and to sett up themselves above their brethren, and then the Lord humbled them againe beneath their conquer'd vassalls.*

---

* To those, and they are not few, who, like Col. Hutchinson, believe the peculiar interposition of Providence, this remark of the punishment inflicted on those

So long as the armie only resisted unjust impositions, and remained firme to their first pious engagement, Mr Hutchinson adher'd to that party, which protected them in the parliament* house. His attendance there, chang-

---

who abused its gifts, will appear pleasing and edifying; to those who admit only a general dispensation, the fall of each party successively by their own malversation, will seem a signal mark of justice; by both, this chain of causes and effects will be acknowledged to be drawn by the hand of a master.

* This history, which, as far as it relates to publick affairs, is called only a Summary, will nevertheless be found to redress many errors in larger histories, and to open a great field for reflection: in none, perhaps, more than in this question of the right of the army to interfere with the conduct of parliament or business of the state: this is generally decided against them lightly and inconsiderately. The danger of admitting *armed* assemblies to *deliberate*, and the duty of a soldier to *obey*, but not *debate*, are very *boldly asserted;* and as this doctrine suits the governors of every state, it will always be favoured; but it goes on a *petitio principii*, a begging of the question that the military are the *hired servants* of the state: and military men have so far agreed to this unjust postulate, that they have consented to accept that which is a nickname, or term of reproach, as the generic one of their whole profession, viz. Soldier; which is but a translation of the Italian *soldato*, mercenary or hireling. It has been repeatedly shewn how ill this term agreed with the parliament troops in general, being mostly volunteers and freeholders or burghers, and ill, or sometimes

ing his custome of life, into a sedentary employment, lesse suitable to his active spiritt, and more preiudiciall to his health, he fell

---

not at all paid. Were such to be considered as mere machines, as having forfeited all right to an opinion of their own, and bound to support that of others?—If so, then those who expected to maintain our constitution by putting arms into the hands of almost all whom patriotism or the preservation of their property animated to take them up, would have bereaved it of nearly all its defenders! With good right did these men, who had taken a pious engagement to God and their country, and most manfully acquitted themselves of it, call on the parliament to complete it by a happy settlement. Their several petitions and remonstrances, preserved in Rushworth, vol. vii. p. 4. & infra, shew that their views were just and rational, and such as have since in part been realized, in part are still wished for, viz. "the duration of parliaments "to be limited; elections better regulated — the representation better distributed; improper privileges, and "peculiarly that of being screened from creditors, given "up; not bishops, but their coercive power and civil "penalties taken away; the king restored to his rights "(but with some restrictions as to appointments for ten "years); the laws simplified, and lessened in expence; "monopolies set aside; tythes commuted, &c. But all "this was interrupted by the domineering party." Who can help lamenting that there were not more found to unite with Col. Hutchinson and this army to perfect the best system of government that ever did or will exist?

These proposals of the army are supposed to have been penned by Ireton.

into a long and painefull sicknesse, which many times brought him neare the grave, and was not perfectly cured in foure yeares. The doctors could not find a name for it; but at the length resolv'd upon the running gout, and a cure, proper for that disease, being practis'd on him, tooke effect.

The truth is, his greate mind so far surmounted the frailty of his flesh, that it would never yield to the tendernesse of his constitution, nor suffer him to feele those inconveniences of martiall toyles, which often cast downe his captaines, men of more able bodies and healthfull complexions, while the business was in hand; but when that was finisht, he found, what he had not leisure to consider before, that his body's strength was farre unequall to the vigor of his soule.

After the surrender of Newark, Nottingham towne and castle was continued a garrison for some time; between this and his greater employment at London, the governor divided himselfe. Meanwhile, upon the 15th day of July, 1646, propositions were sent to the king, then with the Scotts at Newcastle, little higher than those which had been made him at Uxbridge, but he wove out delayes, and would not assent to them, hoping a greater advantage by the difference betweene the two nations, and the factions in the citie and parliament, which both he and all his party employ'd their utmost industry to cherish and augment. Both parliaments perceiving this, and nott yett sencelesse of approaching destruction, from the common enemie, began to be cemented by the king's averseness to peace, and to consider how to settle the kingdomes without him, and when they had agreed that the Scotts should deliver up the English garrisons for a certaine summe of mony, it fell into debate how to dispose of the king's person; where the debate was, not who should, but who should not have him. At the length, about January of the same yeare, two hundred thousand pounds was carried downe by part of the armie to Newcastle, and upon the payment of it, the Scotts deliver'd their garrisons to the souldiers, and the king to certaine commissioners of both houses of parliament, who conducted him honorably to his owne mannour of Holmby, in Northamptonshire.

During this time Sr. Thomas Fairfax himselfe lay at Nottingham, and the governor was sick in the castle. The generall's lady was come allong with him, having follow'd his camp to the siege of Oxford, and layne at his quarters all the while he abode * there. She was exceeding kind to her husband's chaplaines, independent ministers, till the armie return'd to be nearer London, and then the presbyterian ministers quite chang'd the lady into such a bitter aversion against them, that they could not endure to come into the generall's presence while she was there, and the generall had an unquiett, unpleasant life with her, who drove away from him many of those friends, in whose conversation he had found such sweetnesse. At Nottingham they had gotten a very able minister into the greate church, but a bitter presbiterian; him and his

---

* Here is another of those paradoxes, with which historians have perplexed themselves and their readers, reduced to a very plain tale. It is generally said and believed, that Fairfax was a presbyterian, and much wonder is expressed that he should have so faithfully (it is even said *too faithfully*) served the independents; but it is impossible that any one could have a more clear and certain knowledge of his religious opinions than Col. and Mrs. Hutchinson had, and they declare his chaplains to have been *independent ministers;* nor does it appear that he ever *changed his opinion,* but only that he suffered himself to be over-ruled by his wife. Heroes as great as he have been, both before and since, under the same dominion; as Horace sets forth in his facetious ode to Xanthias Phoceus, parodied by Rowe:

> *Ne sit ancillæ tibi amor pudori.*
>
> Do not, most fragrant earl, disclaim.

brethren my Lady Fairfax caress'd with so much kindnesse, that they grew impudent to preach up their faction, openly, in the pulpitt, and to revile the others, and at length would not suffer any of the army chaplaines to preach in the towne. They then coming to the governor and complaining of their unkind usage, he invited them to come and preach in his house, which when it was knowne they did, there was a great concourse of people came thither to them; and the presbiterians, when they heard it, were madd with rage, not only against them, but against the governor, who accidentally gave them another occasion about the same time, a little before the general came. When formerly the presbyterian ministers had forc'd him for quietnesse sake to goe and breake up a private meeting in the cannoneer's chamber, there were found some notes concerning pædobaptisme, which being brought into the governor's lodgings, his wife having then more leisure to read then he, having perus'd them and compar'd them with the scriptures, found not what to say against the truths they asserted, concerning the misapplication of that ordinance to infants: but being then young and modest, she thought it a kind of virtue to submitt to the iudgement and practice of most churches, rather then to defend a singular opinion of her owne, she not being then enlighten'd in that greate mistake of the nationall churches: but in this yeare she hap'ning to be with child, communicated her doubts to her husband, and desir'd him to endeavour her satisfaction; which while he did, he himselfe became as unsatisfied, or rather satisfied against it. First, therefore, he dilligently search'd the scriptures alone, and could find in them no ground at all for that practice; then he bought and read all the eminent treatices on both sides, which at that time came thick from the presses, and still was clear'd in the error of the pædobaptists. After this, his wife being brought to bed, that he might, if possible, give the religious party no offence, he invited all the ministers to dinner, and propounded his doubt, and the ground thereof to them. None of them could defend their practice with any satisfactory reason, but the tradition of the church, from the primitive times, and their maine buckler of federall holinesse, which Tombs and Denne had excellently overthrowne. He and his wife then, professing themselves unsatisfied in the practice, desir'd their opinions what they ought to doe. Most answer'd, to conforme to the generall practise of other Christians, how darke soever it were to themselves;

but Mr. Foxcraft, one of the assembly, say'd that except they were convinc'd of the warrant of that practise from the word, they sinn'd in doing it, whereupon that infant was not baptized.* And now the governor and his wife, notwithstanding that they forsooke not their assemblies, nor retracted their benevolences and civillities from them, yet were they revil'd by them, call'd fanaticks and anabaptists, and often glanc'd at it in their publick sermons. And not only the ministers, but all their zealous sectaries, conceiv'd implacable mallice against them, upon this account; which was carried on with a spiritt of envy and persecution to the last, though he, on his side, might well have said to them, as his Master to the old pharisees: "Many good "workes have I done among you, for which "of these do you hate me?" Yet the generallity, even of that people, had a secret conviction upon them, that he had bene faithfull to them, and deserv'd their love; and in spite of their owne bitter zeale, could not but have a reverent esteeme for him, whom they often rayl'd at, for not thinking and speaking according to their opinions.

---

* Surely this shews an unbecoming propensity to speculate in religion; the story is, however, told with candour.

This yeare Sr. Allen Apsley, governor of Barnstable for the king, after the surrender of that garrison came and retir'd to the governor's house till his composition with the parliament was compleated, the governor's wife being his sister, and the governor's brother having married the other sister: * and this was another occasion of opening the mouths of the mallignants, who were ready to seize any one to his preiudice. Sr. Allen Apsley had not his articles punctually perform'd, by which he suffer'd greate expence and intollerable vexation, and the governor, no lesse concern'd in the iniustice done to him then if he had suffer'd it himselfe, endeavour'd to protect him only in that which was iust, and for this was call'd a cavalier, and sayd to have chang'd his party, and a thousand more iniuries, in which none were

---

* Amongst the discords and distraction, public and private, which must have harassed the reader's mind, it is soothing for a moment to contemplate the harmony which reigned within Col. Hutchinson's family, and the sincere friendship between them and Sir Allen Apsley, which will reappear on many and frequent occasions to the very close of his life. As this amiable man, and all that concerns him, must interest the reader nearly in an equal degree with the principal subject, there has been in the preface a pedigree and account given of his family till it merged in that of Bathurst.

so forward as those who had all the while bene disaffected to the whole parliament party, but after they were conquer'd, burying their spite against the cause in their owne bosomes, suffer'd that secret fire to rise up in a black smoke against the most faithfull assertors of it.

When the commissioners went downe to fetch up the king from the Scotts, one of the lords coming to visitt the governor, and finding him at that time very sick, perswaded him to make use of one of the king's physitians that was with them, that was call'd Dr. Wilson, and was a very able physitian, but mistooke the method of his cure, and made issues in both his armes, which rather wasted his strength then his disease, and when he was cur'd were stopt up. That spring, growing a little better for the present, he went to London, and having ineffectually tried severall physitians, Sr. Allen Apsley perswaded him to make use of Dr. Frazier, with whom he began a course of physick, in the middst of which the doctor came and acquainted him that he was likely to be imprison'd upon suspition of carrying on designes against the parliament underhand, for now the Scotts were threat'ning invasion and open warre: he profess'd his innocency with many protestations, and desir'd Mr. Hutchinson to obliege him so farre as to engage for him that he manag'd no designe but his calling; which the collonell believing, undertooke for him to the committee of Derby-house; when the false Scott, having thus abus'd him, left a letter of lame excuse to him, and stole away out of England to the princes, then beyond the seas, leaving a blott upon Mr. Hutchinson for having undertaken for him:* but he, acknowledging his error to have bene so abus'd, was thereby warn'd from credulity of any of that false nation any more. That summer he attended the service of the house, being freed for a while from his distemper during the summer till the fall of the leafe that it return'd againe. In the meane time iealousies were sowne betweene the parliament, the citie of London, and the armie. The presbiterian faction were earnest to have the armie disbanded; the armie resented the iniurie, and being taught to vallue their owne meritt, petition'd the generall that they might be satisfied, not only in things relating to themselves particularly as an army, but the generall concernments and liberties of the good people of the nation, which they had fought for. The presbyterians were highly offended at this, and declar'd it with such violence as gave the armie cause to encrease their iealousies. The souldiers, led on to it by one Cornet Joyce, tooke the king from Holmeby out of the parliament commissioners' hands, and carried him about with them. The parliament voted that the king should come to Richmond, attended by the same persons that attended him at Holmby, but the armie, instead of obeying, impeach'd eleven members of the house of commons of high treason, and petition'd that those impeach'd members might be secluded the house, till they had brought in their answer to the charge; which being violently debated, they made a voluntary secession for six months. The generall also entreated that the king might not be brought nearer to London then they would suffer the army to quarter. So he was carried with them to Royston, Hatfield, Reading, and at last to Owborne, till about July 1647, when London grew into a tumult, and made a very rude violation upon the parliament house, which caused them to adiourn; when understanding the furie of the citizens, the greatest part of the members with the speaker withdrew and went to the armie, among whom was Coll. Hutchinson. * The presbiterian members who stay'd behind chose new speakers, and made many new votes, and vigorously began to leavie forces to resist the armie, which were conducted by Massie and Poyntz. The parliament that was with the armie made an order against the proceedings of the members at London, and advanc'd with the generall, which when the citie heard of, their stomachs would not serve them to stand it out, but they sent commissioners, and, by the consent of the members with the generall, obtain'd a pacification, upon condition the city should disband all their new forces, deliver up their tower and their forts to the generall, and desert the members now sitting. They daring to denie nothing, the generall came triumphantly to Westminster, and brought back both the speakers and the

---

* This Dr. Frazier was afterwards employed by Charles the Second to negotiate with the Scots.

---

* As did fourteeen peers, among them the earls of Manchester and Warwick, lords Say and Sele and Mulgrave, and one hundred commoners, and the palsgrave, or elector palatine, visited them. It would have been very seasonable to have offered to the consideration of both parties Horace's beautiful apologue of the Horse and the Stag.

Cervus equum bello melior, &c.

The calling in foreign aid to controul their antagonists proved equally destructive to both, but was begun by the Presbyterians.

members and putt them againe in their seates. The generall had solemne thankes from both houses, and then, with all his chiefe officers, marcht through the city, from the westerne parts of it to the Tower, where many commands were chang'd, the presbiterian party depress'd, and their generalls, Poyntz and Massie, with all the remaining officers of that faction, forc'd to retire, who most of them then chang'd their party, and never more appear'd on the parliament side. Yet was there still a presbiterian faction left in the house of such as were moderate, and not by the bitternesse of their zeale carried out to breake their covenant with God and men, and renew a league with the popish interest to destroy that godly interest which they had at first so gloriously asserted. After this tumult at London was quieted, about August of that yeare, the king was brought to one of his stately pallaces at Hampton-court, neere London, and the armie remoov'd to quarters about the citie, their head-quarters being at Putney. The king, by reason of his dayly converse with the officers, began to be trinkling with them, not only then but before, and had drawne in some of them to engage to corrupt others to fall in with him: but to speake the truth of all, Cromwell was at that time soe uncorruptibly faithfull to his trust and to the people's interest, that he could not be drawne in to practise even his own usuall and naturall dissimulations in this occasion. His sonne-in-law, Ireton, that was as faithfull as he, was not so fully of the opinion (till he had tried it and found to the contrary) but that the king might have bene manag'd to complie with the publick good of his people, after he could no longer uphold his owne violent will; but, upon some discourses with him, the king uttering these words to him, "I shall play my "game as well as I can;" Ireton replied, "If "your maiestie have a *game* to play, you must "give us alsoe the liberty to play ours." Coll. Hutchinson privately discoursing with his cousin about the communications he had had with the king, Ireton's expressions were these; "He gave us words, and we pay'd him "in his owne coyne, when we found he had "no reall intention to the people's good, but "to prevaile by our factions, to regaine by "art what he had lost in fight."

The king liv'd at Hampton-court rather in the condition of a guarded and attended prince, than as a conquer'd and purchas'd captive; all his old servants had free recourse to him; all sorts of people were admitted to come to kisse his hands and doe him obeysance as a soveraigne. Ashburnham and Berkly, by the parliament voted delinquents, came to him from beyond the seas, and others by permission of the armie, who had hoped they might be usefull to encline him to wholesome councells; but he, on the other side, interpreting this freedome wherein he was permitted to live not to the gentlenesse and reconcileablenesse of his parliament, who, after all his iniuries, yet desir'd his restitution, so farre as it might be without the ruine of the good people of the land, but rather believing it to proceed from their apprehension of their owne declining and his re-advancing in the hearts of the people, made use of this advantage to corrupt many of their officers to revolt from them and betrey them; which some time after they did, and pay'd the forfeiture with their lives.* When the king was at Hampton Court, the lords formerly of his privie councell at Oxford alsoe repaired to him, to be as a councell attending him, but this was so much disgusted at London that they retreated againe: but the Scotch lords and commissioners having free accesse to him, he drew that nation into the designe of the second warre; which furiously brake out the next summer, and was one of the highest provocations which, after the second victory, brought him to the scaffold. But I shall respite that, to return to his affaires whom I principally trace.

---

* This is one of the places where we find reason to regret Mrs. Hutchinson's being so summary in her account of public affairs. This matter of endeavouring to bring the king to reason, and his perverting the good intentions of friends as well as foes, is treated much at length by Ludlow, in his first volume, from p. 194. to 204. and he agrees with Mrs. Hutchinson in most particulars; but it seems extraordinary that he should attribute a very considerable and active part in this business to Sir Allen Apsley, and his sister should make no mention of him in it. The candour and benevolence of Ireton, who is so generally represented as a cynick, are equally apparent in both places, as likewise are the obstinacy and duplucity of the king,

After the parliament were by the generall restor'd to their seates, Collonell Hutchinson came downe to the garrison at Nottingham, which, the warre being ended, was reduc'd only to the castle, the workes at the towne and the bridges slighted, the companies of the governor's regiment, all but two, disbanded, and

---

If Ireton is by any supposed to have been too favourably represented by Mrs. Hutchinson, it will not be thought that he is likewise favoured by Walker in his Hist. of the Independ.; yet, page 164., he reports thus. — Ireton said, the king had committed crimes enough to *depose and imprison him*, and crown the Duke of York, then a child, in his stead, (*not to kill the King*), and that if any thought their treatment of the King severe, they would applaud their clemency to the Duke of York.

he thinking, now in a time when there was no opposition, the command not worthy of himselfe or his brother, gave it over to his kinsman, Capt. Poulton. With the assistance of his fellow parliament men, he procur'd an order from the parliament for five thousands pounds, that had bene leavied for the Scotch army, but which they, departing with too much hast, had not receiv'd, to be distributed among the officers and souldiers of his regiment that were at this time disbanded, in part of their arrears, and, that it might go the farther amongst them, himselfe had none of it.* The garrison at Nottingham being reduc'd, Coll. Hutchinson remoov'd his famely back to his owne house at Owthorpe, but found that, having stood uninhabited, and bene rob'd of every thing which the neighbouring garrisons of Shelford and Wiverton could carrie from it, it was so ruinated that it could not be repair'd, to make a convenient habitation, without as much charge as would almost build another. By reason of the debt his publick employment had runne him into, not being able to doe this at present while all his arrears were unpay'd, he made a bad shift with it for that yeare. At this time his distemper of rheume was very sore upon him, and he so aflicted with paynes in his head, which fell down alsoe with violent torture upon all his ioynts, that he was not able to goe for divers weekes out of his chamber; and here wee had a notable example of the victorious power of his soule over his body. One day, as he was in the saddest torture of his disease, certeine horse came, somewhat insolently and iniuriously, exacting quarters or monies in the towne, whom he sent for, and telling them he would not suffer such wrong to be done to his tenants, they seeing him in so weake a condition, would not be perswaded to forbeare violent and uniust actions, but told him his government was expir'd, and they no more under his command; with which, and some other sawcy language, being provok'd to be heartily angrie, he felt not that he was sick, but started out of his chaire and beate them out of the house and towne, and return'd againe laughing att the wretched fellows and att himselfe, wond'ring what was become of his payne, and thinking how strangely his feebleness was cured in a moment: but while he and those about him were in this amazement, it was not halfe an hower before, as his spirits cool'd, that heate and vigour they had lent his members retir'd againe to their noble pallace, his heart; those efforts, wherein they had violently employ'd his limbs, made them more weake then before, and his payne return'd with such redoubled violence that we thought he would have died in this fitt.

---

* Nota bene.

While he was thus distemper'd at home, Maior-general Ireton sent him a letter, with a new commission in it, for the resuming his government of Nottingham Castle, which the principall officers of the armie, foreseeing an approaching storme, desir'd to have in the same hand, wherein it had before bene so prosperously and faithfully preserv'd: but the Collonell sent them word, that as he should not have put his kinsman into the place, but that he was assur'd of his fidelity, so he would never ioyne with those who were so forgetfull of the merits of men, that had behav'd themselves well, as to discourage them without a cause. Hereupon they suffer'd Capt. Poulton to remaine in his command; but while the house was highly busie in faction, they tooke no care of any of the garrisons, especially of such as were likely to continue firme to the cause, the presbiterian faction having a designe to weaken or corrupt them all, that they might be prepar'd for the greate revolt from the parliament, which was now working in all countries. In Nottinghamshire, a brother of the Lord Biron's, Coll. Gilbert Biron, meeting Capt. Poulton, began to insinuate into him, and tempt him to betray Nottingham castle; which proposition, when he heard, he thought not fitt utterly to reiect, lest the castle, being then in a weake condition, and the souldiers discontented, some of his under officers might more readily embrace it and betrey both the place and him. He therefore tooke a little time to consider of it; and came to Coll. Hutchinson and acquainted him with it. He advised to hold his cousin Biron on in the treatie, 'till he himselfe could goe to London and provide for the better securing of the place, which, his distemper of health a little abating, he did: and when the place was well provided, Capt. Poulton, who was too gentle-hearted to cut of Mr. Biron under a pretence of assenting to him, sent to him to shift for himselfe, which Mr. Biron accordingly did; and now the insurrection began everywhere to breake out.

In the meane time, some months before, when the king had layd the designe of the second warre with the Scotts, and employ'd all his art to bring the English presbiters to a revolt, and was now full of hopes to bring about *his game*, and conquer those who had conquered him, while he was amusing the parliament with expectations of a treaty, he privily stole away from Hampton Court by the assistance of Ashburnham and Berkley, no man knew whither: but these wise men had so order'd their businesse, that instead of going beyond seas, which was his first intent, he was forct to give himselfe up to Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, who immediately gave notice to the parliament, and they sent him thanks for his fidellity, and order'd that the king should be honorably attended and guarded there in Carisbrook Castle. The parliament were againe sending him propositions there, when they receiv'd a letter from him, urging that he might come to a personal treatie at London. Hereupon the two houses agreed on foure propositions to be sent him, to passe as bills; upon the passing of which, they were content he should come to a personall treatie for the rest. The foure propositions were, 1st. That a bill should passe for the settling the militia of the kingdome. 2dly, That all oaths, declarations, &c. against the parliament and their adherents should be call'd in. 3dly, That the lords made by the greate seale att Oxford, should not be capable of sitting in the house of peers thereby. 4thly, That the parliament may have power to adiourne, as the two houses think fitt. The Scotch commissioners oppos'd the sending these bills to the king, and urg'd his coming to a personall treaty at London.

The king understanding their mind and the factions in London, absolutely refus'd to signe them. Wherefore the houses debating upon the king's deniall, at length these votes were pass'd by both houses on the 17th day of January: That they would make no more addresses, nor applications to the king. That no person whatsoever should make addresse or application to him. That whoever should breake this order, should incurre the penalty of high treason. That they would receive no more messages from the king, and that no person should presume to bring any to either house, or any other person. Upon these votes the armie put forth a declaration, promising to stand by the houses in them, which was sign'd by the generall and all his officers, at Windsor, Jan. 19, 1647. But in May following, first tumults began in London, then the Surrey men came with a very insolent petition, and behav'd themselves so arrogantly to the parliament, killing and wounding some of the guards, that a troope of horse were fetcht from the Mewes, and were forc'd to kill some of them, before they could quiet them. After this, the parliament were inform'd of another insurrection in Kent, coming under the face of a petition, and sent out General Fairfax with seven regiments to suppresse them, who persued them to Rochester. A greate company of these Kentish men were gotten together about Gravesend, with fifteene knights, and many commanders of the king's armie to head them, who, although they were more in number then Fairfax his men, yet durst not bide his coming. Some of them went to Dover Castle and besieg'd it, but the generall sent out Sr. Michael Livesey, who happily releiv'd that place and rays'd the siege; others went to Maidstone, and a few kept together about Rochester. The generall himselfe went to Maidstone, where two thousand of them were gotten into the towne, and resolv'd to keepe it; whom the generall assaulted, and with difficulty enter'd the towne, and fought for every streete, which were barricadoed against him and defended with cannon. Yett at length he kill'd two hundred, and tooke fourteene hundred prisoners. Foure hundred horse broke away to an army of their friends, bigger then Fairfax his, who saw the towne taken, yet had not the courage to engage against the generall, in the reliefe of it, but after they saw his victory dispers'd. The Lord Goring then having rallied about two thousand of these Kentish men, led them to Greenwich, from whence he sent to trie the affections of the Londoners; but while he stay'd there expecting their answer, some troopes of the armie came, upon the sight of whom, he and his men fled. The Kentish men, most of them to their owne houses, himselfe, with about five hundred horse, getting boate, crosst the Thames into Essex, where the Lord Capel with forces out of Hertfordshire, and Sr. Charles Lucas with a body of horse at Chelmsford, ioyn'd him, to whom, in a short time, divers that had bene the king's souldiers, many Londoners, and other mallignants, flocked in. Generall Fairfax, with part of his forces, crossed the Thames at Gravesend, and sending for all the rest out of Kent and London, pursued the enemies and drove them into Colchester, where he besieg'd them, and lay before them three months. At last, hearing of the defeate of Duke Hamilton and the Scotts, and other of the king's partizans, and being reduc'd to eating of horse-flesh, without hopes of reliefe, they yielded to mercy. The generall shott Sr. Charles Lucas, and Sr. George Lisle to death upon the place, and reserv'd Goring, Capell, and others, to abide the doome of the parliament. While Fairfax was thus employed in Kent and Essex, Langhorne, Powell, and Poyer, celebrated commanders of the parliament side, revolted with the places in their command, and gott a body of eight thousand Welchmen, whom Coll. Horton, with three thousand, encounter'd, vanquisht, routed and tooke as many prisoners as he had souldiers; but Langhorne and Powell escaped to Poyer, and shut up themselves with him in Pembroke Castle, a place so strong that they refus'd all treaty; and thereupon were besieg'd by Lieftenant-generall Cromwell, to whom at length, after some months siege, it was surrender'd at the conqueror's mercy. In divers other countries, at the same time, were severall insurrections and revolts, but those of the parliament partie, as if they had lost courage and conscience att once, could no more behave themselves with that vallour which had before renown'd them, and were slaine or taken, loosing the places they had betray'd, to their old companions, whose fidellity was crown'd with successe every where. Among the rest Collonell Gilber Biron was risen, with other gentlemen of Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, and had gotten together about five hundred horse; wherewith, after he fail'd of his hopes of corrupting the Governor of Nottingham, they intended to goe and ioyne themselves with others that were up in other countries: and this was so suddenly and secretly done, that they were upon their march before the rising was suspected. The Governor of Nottingham had not time enough to send a messenger to be before them with Coll.

Hutchinson at his house, therefore shott of a piece of cannon, which Coll. Hutchinson hearing as he satt at dinner, and believing some extraordinary thing to be in it, commanded horses to be made ready, and went to Nottingham; but mett the messenger, who came to give him notice of the enemies approach. The newes being sent home in hast, his arms and writings, and other things of vallue, were put in a cart and sent away; which was not long gone but the enemie march'd by the house, and keeping their body on a hill at the towne's end, only sent a party to the house to fetch them what provisions of meate and drinke they found there, besides which, they tooke nothing but a groom with two horses, who being ridden out to ayre them, fell into their mouths, because he could not be readily found when the rest of the horses were sent away. The reason why no more mischiefe was done by the cavaliers to his famely, at that time, was partly because Coll. Gilbert Biron had commanded not to disturbe them, if he were not there, and partly because they were so closely pursued by the Lincolnshire troopes, that they could not stay to take, nor would burthen themselves with plunder, now they saw it unlikely to gett of without fighting. This they did the next day att Willoughby within three miles of Owthorpe, and were there totally routed, kill'd, and taken, by a party under Coll. Rossiter's command, by whom Coll. Biron was carried prisoner to Belvoir Castle. There being in distress, although he was an enemie, and had dealt unhandsomely with Coll. Hutchinson, in endeavouring to corrupt one for whom he was engag'd, yett the Collonell sent him a summe of mony for his present reliefe, and after procur'd him a release and composition with the parliament. The greatest of all these dangers seem'd now to be in the north, where Duke Hamilton's faction being prevalent in Scotland, he had rays'd an armie, and was march'd into England. Sr. Marmaduke Langdale and Glenham, having already rays'd some men in those parts, whom Lambert, with the assistance of some Lincolneshire forces, ioyn'd to his Yorkshire brigade, kept in play: but they reserv'd themselves to ioyne with Hamilton. Argyle, and others of the kirk party, protested against him, and many of the ministers curs'd his attempt, but were silenc'd for it, although God heard them. The presbiterians in London secretly pray'd for his successe, and hardly could the house of lords be brought to ioyne with the house of commons, in voting all the English traytors, that should ioyne with the Scotts, which yet at the last they did.

Coll. Hutchinson having bene about this time at London, and wanting a minister for the place where he lived, and for which he had procur'd an augmentation, repair'd to some eminent ministers in London*, to recommend a worthy person to him for the place. They, with a greate testimoniall, preferred a Scotchman to him, whom the Collonell brought downe; but having occasion to be with the committee at Nottingham, to take order for the security of the county in these dangerous times; while he was out the man made strange prayers in the famely, which were coucht in darke expressions; but Mrs. Hutchinson understanding them to be intended for the prosperous successe of those who were risen against the parliament, and of his nation, that were coming to invade ours, told her husband at his returne, that she could not beare with nor ioyne in his prayers. The next day, being the Lord's Day, the Collonell heard his sermon, which was so spiritlesse and so lamentable, that he was very much vext the ministers should have put such a man to him;

---

* This entirely contradicts the opinion so generally propagated and believed, that all the Independents were so fanatical as to decry and lay aside all regular ministry, and to give themselves up to the guidance of self-created teachers, pretending inspiration, *i. e.* impostors.

withall he publickly made the same prayers he utter'd in the famely for the successe of the Scotts; whereupon, after dinner, the Collonell tooke him aside, and told him that he had done very sinfully to undertake an office to which he was so ill guifted, and desir'd him to depart in peace againe the next day, and to forbeare any further employment in his house. The man at first was very high, and told the Collonell he was there by authority of parliament, and would not depart; the Collonell then dealt high with him, and told him he would declare to them the expressions of his prayers, and so confounded the man, that he besought him to have pitie, and confest that he was fled from his owne country for having bene of Montrosse's party, and that covetousnesse, against his conscience, had drawne him to dissemble himselfe to be of the parliament's principle, but that God had iudg'd him for his hipocricie, and withdrawne his spiritt from him, since he practis'd it; and submitted himselfe to goe quietly and silently away, begging it as a favour of the Collonell that he would permitt him so to doe. He did it with such a counterfeit sorrow and conviction, that the Collonell, being of a most placable nature, freely forgave him, and sent him not away empty, for he had fifteene pounds for only a fortnight's service; yet this rogue, before he went out of the country, went to the presbiters at Nottingham, and told them his conscience would not permit him to stay in the Collonell's house, because he and his wife were such violent sectaries, that no orthodox man could live comfortably with them; and this scandall those charitable priests were ready to receive and more largely spread it. They themselves, with divers of their zealous disciples, whom they had perverted, among whom were Coll. Francis Pierrepont, Captaines Rosse, White, Chadwick, and many others, were watching opportunity to breake their covenant and rise against that parliament, under which they had serv'd and sworne to assist them, till all delinquents, as well greater as lesse, were brought to condigne punishment.

At London things were in a very sad posture, the two factions of presbitery and independency being so engaged to suppresse each other, that they both left of to regard the publick interest, insomuch that att that time a certeine sort of publick-spirited men stood up in the parliament and the armie, declaring against these factions and the ambition of the grandees of both, and the partiallity that was in these dayes practis'd, by which greate men were privelledg'd to doe those things which meaner men were punish'd for, and the injustice and other crimes of particular members of parliament, rather cover'd then punish'd, to the scandall of the whole house. Many got shelter in the house and armie against their debts, by which others were defrauded and undone. The lords, as if it were the chiefe interest of nobillity to be licenc'd in vice, claim'd many prerogatives, which sett them out of the reach of common iustice, which these good-hearted people would have equally to belong to the poorest as well as the mighty; and for this and such other honest declarations, they were nicknamed Levellers. Indeed as all vertues are mediums, and have their extreames, there rose up after in that name a people, who endeavour'd the levelling of all estates and quallities, which these sober levellers were never guilty of desiring, but were men of iust and sober principles, of honest and religious ends, and therefore hated by all the designing self-interested men of both factions. Coll. Hutchinson had a great intimacy with many of these; and so far as they acted according to the iust, pious, and publick spiritt which they profess'd, own'd them and protected them, as farre as he had power. These were they who first began to discover the ambition of Lieftenant-general

Cromwell and his idolaters, and to suspect and dislike it. About this time, he was sent downe, after his victory in Wales, to encounter Hamilton in the north. When he went downe the chiefe of these levellers following him out of the towne, to take their leaves of him, receiv'd such professions from him, of a spiritt bent to persue the same iust and honest things that they desird, as they went away with greate satisfaction, 'till they heard that a coachfull of presbiterian priests comming after them, went away no lesse pleas'd; by which it was apparent he dissembled with one or the other, and by so doing lost his creditt with both.

When he came to Nottingham, Coll. Hutchinson went to see him, whom he embrac'd with all the expressions of kindnesse that one friend could make to another, and then retiring with him, prest him to tell him what thought his friends, the levellers*, had of him. The Collonell, who was the freest man in the world from concealing truth from his friend, espe-

---

* The information Mrs. Hutchinson gives us on this subject is curious and valuable, but differs from the tradition generally received respecting the Levellers; it is however well supported by Walker in his Hist. of Independ. He begins with describing two Juntos of Grandees, and calls the rest the common people of the house; the former only feigned opposition, but played into one another's hands, the latter were sincere and earnest in it: he speaks of the *honest middlemen,* the same as Mrs. H. calls

by that name, and likewise *levellers;* he declares Levellers and Assertors of Liberty to be synonymous terms: in a variety of places they are treated as the only sincere patriots and opposers of the selfish schemes of the grandees of both parties, peculiarly the Independents, and above all, of Cromwell; and the Engrossers and Monopolizers of Oligarchy, desiring to make themselves a Corporation of Tyrants, are said chiefly to dread the opposition of these levellers; but the most remarkable passage is p. 194. —"Reader, let me admonish thee that the Levellers, for so they are miscalled, only for endeavouring to level the exorbitant usurpations of the Councell of State and Councell of Officers, are much abused by some books lately printed and published in their names, much differing from their declared principles, tenets and practices, but forged by Cromwell and others to make the sheep (the People) betray the Dogs that faithfully guard them." The mode here and before taken by Col. Hutchinson of readily adopting a name which was intended him for a reproach, was certainly the best way of disarming it of its sting. The principles held by that party of the levellers which he supported, none venture openly to oppose, but try to attach to them the absurd extreme of those he blames; the modern philosophers, who have stated that all men have equal rights, but to unequal things, have not met with a much more candid construction. The abuses Col. Hutchinson complained of, especially that of the privilege of parliament, have since been a little diminished; but many families still continue to be defrauded and undone by the shelter which members of parliament find from their debts, and which seems long likely to continue a defect in our legislature, and a reproach to our cially when it was requir'd of him in love and plainnesse, not only told him what others thought of him, but what he himselfe conceiv'd, and how much it would darken all his glories, if he should become a slave to his owne ambition, and be guilty of what he gave the world iust cause to suspect, and therefore begg'd of him to weare his heart in his face, and to scorne to delude his enemies, but to make use of his noble courage, to maintaine what he believ'd iust, against all greate oposers. Cromwell made mighty professions of a sincere heart to him,

---

morals. Among a number of pamphlets published in Mr. Hutchinson's time, one was found at Owthorpe, setting forth the views and desires of these inferior levellers. They therein stated, that they were willing to acknowledge the proprietors of lands, and principally the lords of manors, as their elder brothers, and rightfully possessed of the chief inheritance; but prayed to be allowed to cultivate the wastes and commons for their support. Whether the permitting and even encouraging this under moderate reservations might not have been conducive to the public good, is a question which seems to have been decided in the affirmative by the practice of the French under the ancient government: a great share of the lands in every parish having been thus granted out, and cultivated by small proprietors, who paid what was called *champarts*, fieldings or tythes, being seven in the hundred; the industry and population this produced is felt by all Europe. The abrogating these payments to the lords, was one of the grand *incitements* to, and *crimes* of, the revolution.

but it is certeine that for this and such like plaine dealing with him, he dreaded the collonell, and made it his particular businesse to keep him out of the armie; but the collonell never desiring command to serve himselfe, but his country, would not use that art he detested in others, to procure himselfe any advantage.

At this time Coll. Thornhagh marcht with Cromwell, and at his parting with Coll. Hutchinson, tooke such a kind leave of him, with such deare expressions of love, such brotherly embraces, and such regrett for any rash iealousies he had bene wrought into, that it tooke greate impression in the colonell's kind heart, and might have bene a presage to him that they should meet no more, when they parted with such extraordinary melting love; but that Coll. Hutchinson's chearfull and constant spiritt never anticipated any evill with feare. His prudence wanted not foresight that it might come, yet his faith and courage entertein'd his hope, that God would either prevent, or help him to beare it.

This summer the revolt was not greater at land then at sea. Many of the greate ships sett the vice-admiral on shore, and sail'd towards Holland to Prince Charles: to whom the Duke of Yorke was come, having, by his father's advice, privately stolen away from London, where the parliament had receiv'd and treated him like a prince, ever since the surrender of Oxford. To reduce these revolted ships, and preserve the rest of the navie from the like, the Earle of Warwick was made lord high admirall of England. But at the same time his brother the Earle of Holland, who had floated up and downe with the tide of the times, rose alsoe against the parliament, and appear'd in armes, with the young Duke of Buckingham and Lord Francis Villars his brother, and others, making about five hundred horse, at Kingston upon Thames. Here some of the parliament troopes, assailing them before they had time to grow, they were totally routed and disperst. The Lord Francis Villars was slaine; the Earle of Holland, flying with those he could rally, was fought with at S. Neots, Dalbier and others of his associates slaine, and himselfe taken prisoner and carried to Warwick Castle. Buckingham fled, and at last gott beyond seas, with a blott of base ingratitude and treachery, which began then to appeare, and hath since markt out all his life. For these two lords being pupills, and under the king's tuition, were carried with him to Oxford, where they remained till the rendition of the place, and then coming to London, in regard they were under age, had all their father and mother's greate estates, freely, without any sequestration or composition, and while they enioy'd them, their secret intentions of rising being discover'd to the parliament, the parliament would not secure them, as some advis'd, but only sent a civill warning to the Duke, minding him how unhandsome it would be, if the information should prove true; whereupon the Duke protested he had no such intention, but utterly detested it, making all the expressions of iust gratitude to them that could be, and yet, within very few days after, openly shew'd himselfe in armes, to tell the world how perfidious an hipocrite he was; for which the parliament exempted him from pardon, and ever after detested his name, as one that rose only to fall into contempt and obloquie.

And now was Cromwell advanc'd into Lancashire, where Lambert retreating from the invading Scotts, ioyn'd with him and made up an armie of about ten thousand; which were but few to encounter five and twenty thousand, led by Hamilton, Langdale, and other English ioyn'd with them. Yett neere Preston, in Lancashire, they fought, and Cromwell gain'd an entire victory, about the end of August, and had the chace of them for twenty miles, wherein many fell, and many were taken prisoners. Hamilton himselfe, with a good party of horse, fled to Uttoxeter, and was there taken by the Lord Grey. But, in the beginning of this battle, the valliant Coll. Thornhagh was wounded to death. Being at the beginning of the charge on a horse as couragious as became such a master, he made such furious speed, to sett upon a company of Scotch lanciers, that he was singly engaged and mortally wounded, before it was possible for his regiment, though as brave men as ever drew sword, and too afectionate to their collonell, to be slack in following him, to come time enough to breake the furie of that body, which shamed * not to unite all their force against one man: who yet fell not among them, but being faint and all covered with blood, of his enemies as well as his owne, was carried of by some of his owne men, while the rest, enrag'd for the losse of their deare collonell, fought not that day like men of humane race: deafe to the cries of every coward that ask'd mercy, they kill'd all, and would not a captive should live to see their collonell die;

---

* Shamed not, used neutrally instead of were not ashamed, blushed not.

but say'd the whole kingdome of Scotland was too meane a sacrifice for that brave man. His soule was hovering to take her flight out of his body, but that an eager desire to know the successe of that battle, kept it within, till the end of the day, when the newes being brought him, he clear'd his dying countenance, and say'd, "I now reioyce to die, since God hath "lett me see the overthrow of this perfidious "enemy; I could not lose my life in a better "cause, and I have the favour from God to "see my blood aveng'd." So he died, with a large testimony of love to his souldiers, but more to the cause, and was by mercy remoov'd that the temptations of future times might not prevaile to corrupt his pure soule. A man of greater courage and integritie fell not nor fought not in this glorious cause; he had also an excellent good nature, but easie to be wrought upon by flatterers, yett as flexible to the admonitions of his friends; and this virtue he had, that if sometimes a cunning insinuation prevail'd upon his easie faith, when his error was made knowne to him, notwithstanding all his great courage, he was readier to acknowledge and repaire, then to persue his mistake.* Coll. Thornhagh's regiment in the reducing of the garrison forces, had one Maior Saunders (a Derbieshire man, who was a very godly, honest, country gentleman, but had not many things requisite to a greate souldier) assign'd them for their maior, and with him he brought in about a troope of Derbieshire horse; but the Nottinghamshire horse, who certainly were as brave men as any that drew swords in the armie, had bene animated in all their service, by the dear love they had to their collonell, and the glorie they tooke in him, and their generous spiritts could not take satisfaction in serving under a less man, which they all esteem'd their maior to be; but rememb'ring their successes under Coll. Hutchinson, and severall other things that moov'd them to pitch their thoughts upon him, the captaines addrest themselves to Cromwell, and acquaint-

---

* The valour of this gentleman seems to have been a favourite topic of admiration and praise among his brother

---

warriors. In Cromwell's letter (preserved by Whitelock) wherein he gives an account of his victory, he laments "the death of this *too brave gentleman*." Ludlow is full in his praises of him, and adds a very picturesque circumstance; "that as he lay wounded among his soldiers, he "made them open to the right and left, that he might see "the enemy run." But it is doubtful whether at any time the pencil or the pen has consecrated any thing to the memory of a departed chief, so animated, so appropriate, as this character and description, which we may surely say Mrs. Hutchinson conceived in the very spirit that her hero lived and flourished, fought and fell.

ed him with the discouragement and sorrow they had by the death of their collonell, for whom nothing could comfort them, but a successor equal to himselfe, which they could not hope to find, so as they might in the person of Coll. Hutchinson, with whose worth and courage they were well acquainted, and he was now out of employment: the only difficulty was, whether he would accept the command or noe, which they hoped to prevaile in, if he would obliege them by sending to Lord Fairfax, to stop all other wayes that might be thought of for disposing it, till they could know whether Coll. Hutchinson would accept it, for which they had prepar'd a messenger to send to his house. Cromwell, with all the assentation imaginable, seem'd to reioyce they had made so worthy a choyce, and promis'd them to take care the regiment should not be dispos'd of, till they receiv'd Coll. Hutchinson's answer; whereupon the captaines severally writt to Coll. Hutchinson, with most earnest entreaties, that he would give them leave to procure a commission for him to conduct them, which the lieft. general had already promis'd to send for, if he pleas'd to accept it.

The collonell, though he had more inclination at that time, by reason of the indisposition of his health, to rest, yet not knowing whether the earnest desires of his countriemen were not from a higher call, writt them word that he preferr'd the satisfaction of their desires before his owne, and if the commission came to him to be their leader, he would not refuse it, though he should not doe aniething himselfe to seeke any command. Meanwhile Cromwell, as soone as the Nottinghamshire men had imparted their desires to him, sent for Saunders, and caiolling him, told him, none was so fitt as himselfe to command the regiment, but that the regiment thought not all of them soe, but were designing to procure themselves another collonell, which he advis'd him to prevent, by sending speedily to the generall, to whom Cromwell also writt to further the request, and before the messenger came back from Owthorpe procur'd the commission for Saunders. When it came, he us'd all his art to perswade the captaines to submitt to it, and to excuse himselfe from having any hand in it; but they perceiv'd his dissimulation, and the troopes were so displeas'd with it, that they thought to have flung downe their arms; but their captaines perswaded them to rest contented 'till the present expedition were over. But they had not only this cheate and disapham captaines were pass'd over, and a less deserving man made maior of the regiment. The new collonell and maior made it their businesse to discountenance and affront all that had shew'd any desire of Coll. Hutchinson, and to wearie them out, that they might fill up theire roomes with Derbieshire men; but as soone as they gott to London, all that could otherwise dispose of themselves, went voluntarily of; and the rest that were forc'd to abide, hated their commanders, and liv'd discontentedly under them. The reasons that induc'd Cromwell to this, were two: first, he found that Coll. Hutchinson understood him, and was too generous either to feare or flatter him; and he carried, though under a false face of friendship, a deepe resentment of the collonell's plaine dealing with him at Nottingham. He had besides a designe, by insinuating himselfe into Coll. Saunders, to flatter him into the sale of a towne of his call'd Ireton, which Cromwell earnestly desired to buy for Maior General Ireton, who had married his daughter, and when at last he could not obteine it, in process of time, he tooke the regiment away from him againe.* Coll. Hutchinson was not at all dispoyntment by Cromwell, but all the Notting- pleas'd that the regiment was not given to him, but highly resented it that the men were ill us'd for their affections to him; and was sorrie that this particular carriage of Cromwell's gave him such a proofe of other things suspected of him, so destructive to the whole cause and party, as it afterwards fell out.

---

* This gentleman is mentioned in Granger's Biography: and there is a print of him in the hands of some curious

Sr. Marmaduke Langdale, after the rout of Hamilton, came with two or three other officers, to a little alehouse, which was upon Coll. Hutchinson's land, and there was so circumspect, that some country fellowes, who saw them by chance, suspecting they were no ordinary travellers, acquainted Mr. Widmerpoole, who liv'd within two or three miles, and had bene maior to the collonell in the first war: whereupon he came forth, with some few others, and sent downe to the collonell to acquaint him that some suspicious persons were at the lodge. The collonell, hearing of it, tooke his servants out, and was approacht near the house, when Maior Widmerpoole, being beforehand in the house, had given Langdale some iealousie that

---

collectors, peculiarly of John Townely, Esq. He is said to be of Ireton, in Derbyshire; but Ireton is believed to be in the Vale of Belvoir.

he might be surpriz'd, therefore one of his company went out to fetch out his horses, which were stopp'd for the present, and they seeing the collonell comming up towards them, render'd themselves prisoners to Maior Widmerpoole, and were sent to Nottingham Castle, where they continued some months, till at last Langdale finding an opertunity, corrupted one of the guard, who furnisht him with a souldier's disguise, and ran away with him. The maior, who had bene baffled by these persons, if the collonell had not come in, had all the booty, which the collonell never tooke share of anie where : but the maior thinking the best of his spoyles iustly due to him, presented him with a case of two very fine pistolls, which he accepted.

About this time the gentlemen that were commissioners for the king at Newark, fell into disputes one with another ; nor only soe, but suites were commenc'd in the chancery upon this occasion. One Atkins, and several other rich men at Newark, when that garrison began to be fortified for the king, lent certeine summes of mony, for the carrying on of that worke, to the commissioners of array, for which those gentlemen became bound to the Newarkers. After the taking in of that towne by the parliament, they, as other persons, comming in within the sett time, were admitted to composition. Having bene so cunning as to put out their mony in other names, they ventur'd to leave out these summes, believing they were putt into such sure hands, that it would never be discover'd. Mr. Sutton, Sr. Thomas Williamson, Sr. John Digby, Sr. Gervas Eyre, the Lord Chaworth, Sr. Thomas Blackwell, Sr. Roger Cowper, Sr. Richard Biron, and others, had given bond for this mony, which Mr. Sutton presenting to the king, as a summe that *he* had rais'd to signalize his loyalty; the king, to reward him, made him a baron. The whole summe thus taken up for the king's service, was eight or ten thousand pounds; fifteen hundred of it, that was lent by Atkinson, being demanded, would have bene pay'd, but they would not take the principal without the interest. Sr. Thomas Williamson was openly arrested for it in Westminster Hall; upon which Mr. Sutton and he, being madded, put in a bill in chancery against Atkinson and others, praying that they might sett forth to what ends and uses this mony was lent to the sayd gentlemen, &c. &c.

The parliament had made a law, that all estates of delinquents, conceal'd and uncompounded for, should be forfeited, one halfe to the state, and the other halfe to the discoverer, if he had any arrears due to him from the parliament, in payment of them. There were clearkes and sollicitors, who in those days made a trade of hunting out such discoveries, and making them knowne to such as had any arrears due to them. Coll. Hutchinson att that time had receiv'd no pay at all. One of the clearkes of that committee, which was appoynted for such discoveries, sent him word that two officers of the armie were upon this chancery bill, endeavouring to make a discoverie of certeine conceal'd monies in Nottinghamshire, which being his owne country, he thought might be more proper for him. Coll. Hutchinson, who had never any mind to disadvantage any of the gentlemen of the country, demurr'd upon this information, and did nothing in it, till some came to him, intimating a desire of my Lord Lexington's, that the collonell would pitch upon that for the payment of his arrears, that so they might fall into the hands of a neighbour, who would use them civilly rather then of a stranger. After that the collonell was thus invited by the gentlemen themselves, to pitch upon this mony, he wav'd all the rest, and only enter'd as his discoverie, that mony which these townsmen of Newark had lent, and upon full search and hearing att the committee, the mony was found to be forfeited mony, and the debtors were order'd to pay it into the committee, and Coll. Hutchinson had alsoe an order to receive his arreare from that committee of Haberdasher's Hall. Hereupon Sr. Thomas Williamson and Lord Lexington, who being the men of the best estates, were principally lookt upon for the debt, applied themselves to Coll. Hutchinson, begging as a favour that he would undertake the management of the order of sequestration, given out upon their estates, and would alsoe obliege them, by bringing in severall other gentlemen, that were bound to bear proportionable shares. The collonell, to gratify them, gott the order of sequestration, and brought them to an accommodation, wherein every man, according to his ability, agreed upon an equall proportion; and the gentlemen, especially Mr. Sutton, acknowledg'd a very greate obligation to the collonell, who had brought it to so equall a composition among them; and then, upon their owne desires, the order of sequestration was lay'd upon their estates, but managed by one of their owne bayliffes, only to free them from inconveniences, that otherwise would have come upon them. Some of them made use of it to get in arrears of rent, which they knew not how elce any way to have gotten, and for which att that time they pretended the greatest sence of gratitude and obligation imaginable. The collonell alsoe procur'd them dayes of payment, so that whereas it should have been pay'd this Michaelmasse 1648, it was not pay'd till a yeare after, and for these and many other favours in this occasion, was then courted as their patrone, though afterwards this civillity had like to have bene his ruine. And now, about Michaelmasse 1648, he went to attend his duty att the parliament, carrying his whole family with him, because his house had bene so ruined by the warre that he could no longer live in it, 'till it were either repair'd or new built. On coming to London, he himselfe fell into his old distemper of rheume, with more violence than ever, and being weary of those phisitians he had so long, with so little successe, employ'd, he was recommended to a young doctor, sonne to old Dr. Rudgely, whose excellence in his art was every where knowne, and his sonne being a very ingenious person, and considering himselfe, and consulting with his father, believ'd that all the other phisitians who had dealt with him, had mistaken his disease, which he finding more truly out, in a short space perfectly cur'd him of the gowt, and restor'd him, by God's blessing on his endeavours, to such a condition of health as he had not enioy'd for two yeares before. When he was well againe to attend the house, he found the presbiterian party so prevalent there, that the victories obtein'd by the army displeas'd them, and so hot they grew in the zeale of their faction, that they from thenceforth resolv'd and endeavour'd to close with the common enemie, that they might thereby compasse the destruction of their independent brethren. To this end, and to strengthen their faction, they gott in again the late suspended members; whereof it was say'd, and by the consequence appear'd true, that Mr. Hollis, during his succession, had bene in France, and there meeting with the queene, had pieced up an ungodly accommodation with her: although he were the man that, when at the beginning, some of the soberer men, who foresaw the sad issues of warre and victorie on either side, were labouring an accommodation, openly in the house say'd, "He abhorr'd that word Accommodation." After these were gotten in againe, and encourag'd by the presbiterian ministers and the people in the city, they procur'd a revocation of the votes formerly made, with such convincing reasons publickly declar'd for the same, why they had resolv'd of no more addresses to be made to the king. And now nothing was agitated with more violence then a new personall treaty with honor and freedome; and even his comming to the city, before any security given, was labour'd for, but that prevail'd not. Such were the heates of the two parties, that Mr. Hollis challeng'd Ireton, even in the house; out of which they both went to have fought, but that one who sate neere them overheard the wicked whisper, and prevented the execution of it.*

Amidst these things, at last a treaty was sent to the king, by commissioners, who went from both houses, to the Isle of Wight, and although there were some honorable persons in this commission, yett it cannot be denied but that they were carried away by the other, and concluded, upon most dangerous termes, an agreement with the king. He would not give up bishops, but only lease out their revenues; and upon the whole, such were the termes upon which the king was to be restor'd, that the whole cause was evidently given up to him. Only one thing he assented to, to acknowledge himselfe guilty of the blood spilt in the late warre, with this proviso, that if the agreement were not ratified by the house, then this concession should be of no force against him.* The commissioners that treated with him had bene caiol'd and biassed with the promises of greate honors and offices to every one of them, and so they brought back their treaty to be confirm'd by the houses; where there was a very high dispute about them, and they sate up most part of the night, when at length it was voted to accept his concessions, the dissenting party being fewer than the other that were carried on in the faction. Coll. Hutchinson was that night among them, and being convinc'd in his conscience that both the cause, and all those who with an upright honest heart asserted and maintain'd it, were betrey'd and sold for nothing, he addrest himselfe to those commissioners he had most honourable thoughts of, and urg'd his reasons and apprehensions to them, and told them that the king, after having bene exasperated, vanquish't, and captiv'd, would be restor'd to that power, which was inconsistent with the liberty of the people, who for all their blood, treasure, and misery, would reape no fruite, but a confirmation of bondage, and that it had bene a thousand times better, never to have struck one stroke in the quarrell, then, after victory, to yield up a righteous cause; whereby they should not only betrey the interest of their country and the trust repos'd in them, and those zealous friends who had engag'd to the death for them, but be false to the covenant of their God, which was to *extirpate prelacy* not to *lease* it *. They acknowledg'd to him that the conditions were not so secure as they ought to be; but in regard of the growing power and insolence of the army, it was best to accept them. They further sayd, that they enjoying those trusts and places, which they had secur'd for themselves and other honest men, should be able to curb the king's exorbitances; and such other things they say'd, wherewith the collonell dissatisfied, oppos'd their proceedings as much as he could. When the vote was past, he telling some men of understanding, that he was not satisfied in conscience to be included with the maior part, in this vote, which was contrary to their former engagements to God, but thought it fitt to testifie their publick dissent, he and foure more enter'd into the house-book a protestation against that night's votes and proceedings *. Whether it yett remains there, or whether some other of them gott it out, he knew not, but he much wonder'd, after the change and scrutinie into all these things, that he never heard the least mention of it.

---

* Clarendon pretends Ireton would not fight.—Surely Ludlow knew him best, and he says he would!

---

* Certainly there are many strange things to be found in the history of diplomacy, but perhaps none so strange as that an assertion should be admitted to be *provisionally true.*

---

* There is, among Clarendon's State Papers, a letter from the queen to the king, assuring him that those with whom he had to deal were too penetrating to be duped by this artifice; if they were, or pretended to be, the queen was not.

By this violent proceeding of the presbiterians they finisht the destruction of him in whose restitution they were now so fiercely engag'd, for this gave heart to the vanquisht cavaliers, and such courage to the captive king that it harden'd him and them to their ruine. On the other side it so frighted all the honest people, that it made them as violent in their zeale to pull downe, as the others were in their madnesse to restore, this kingly idoll, and the armie, who were principally levell'd and mark'd out for the sacrifice and peace offering of this ungodly reconcilliation, had some colour to persue their late arrogant usurpations upon that authority which it was their duty rather to have obey'd than inter-

---

* Ludlow says he wished to do this very thing, but could not.

rupted; but the debates of that night, which produc'd such destructive votes to them and all their friends, being reported to them, they the next morning came and seiz'd about [*] of the members as they were going to the house, and carried them to a house hard by, where they were for the present kept prisoners. Most of the presbiterian faction, distasted at this insolence, would no more come to their seates in the house; but the gentlemen who were of the other faction, or of none at all, but look'd upon themselves as call'd out to manage a publick trust for their country, forsooke not their seates while they were permitted to sitt in the house [†]. Coll. Hutchinson was one of these who infinitely dislik'd the action of the armie, and had once before bene instrumentall in preventing such another rash attempt, which some of the discerning and honest members having a iealousie of, sent him down to discover. When he came, going first to commissary Ireton's quarters, he found him and some of the soberer officers of the armie in greate discontent, for that the *lieftenant-generall* had given order for a sudden advance of the armie to London, upon the intelligence they had had of the violent proceedings of the other party, whereupon Cromwell was then in the mind to have come and broken them up; but Coll. Hutchinson, with others, at that time perswaded him that, notwithstanding the prevalency of the presbiterian faction, yet there were many who had upright and honest hearts to the publick interest, who had not deserv'd to be so us'd by them, and who could not ioyne with them in any such irregular wayes, although in all iust and equitable things they would be their protectors. Whereupon at that time he was stay'd*; but having now drawne the armie neerer London, they put this insolent force upon the house. Those who were suffer'd to remaine, not at all approoving thereof, sent out their mace to demand their members, but the souldiers would not obey. Yet the parliament thought it better to sitt still and goe on in their duty then give up all, in so distemper'd a time, into the hands of the souldiery, especially there having bene so spacious a pretext of the necessity of securing the whole interest and party from the treachery of those men who contended so earnestly to give up the victors into the hands of their vanquisht enemies. Many petitions had bene brought to the parliament from thousands of the well-affected of the city of London and Westminster and burrough of Southwark, and from several counties in England, and from the severall regiments of the armie, whereof Coll. Ingolsbye's was one of the first, all urging them to performe their covenant, and bring

---

[*] Dugdale gives a list of the secluded members, forty-one in number, and hence we are furnished with some names which will serve to establish a peculiar fact stated at the latter end of the history of the republick.

[†] Whitelock, who was exactly in the same predicament, acted in the same manner, and gives the same reasons for it.

---

* Mrs. Hutchinson does Ireton that justice which Whitelock refuses him, who seems to consider him in the light of an *instigator:* but this is clearly decided by Ludlow, who declares that "he himself, being sensible that the "presbyterian party were determined to sacrifice the "common cause to the pleasure of triumphing over the "independents and the army, by agreeing with the king, "or by any means, went down to apprize Fairfax and "Ireton, then at the siege of Colchester, of this design, "and to court the interposition of the army. Fairfax "readily agreed, but Ireton demurred to interfering till "the king and presbyterians should have actually agreed,

---

" and the body of the nation been convinced of the iniquity " of their coalition." Additional provocations and imperious circumstances afterwards constrained him, but he acted no conspicuous part in the business. In this difference of opinion respecting the interference of the army, we may see the source of the dissension which more openly took place afterwards between Col. Hutchinson and Ludlow, and caused the latter to calumniate Col. Hutchinson as he did.

delinquents, without partiality, to iustice and condigne punishment, and to make enquiry for the guilt of the blood that had bene shed in the land in both warres, and to execute iustice; least the not improoving the mercies of God should bring iudgments in their roome.

Then also a declaration to the same purpose was presented to the house from the lord generall Fairfax and his councell of officers, and strange it is how men that could afterwards pretend such reluctancy and abhorrence of those things that were done, should forgett they were the effective answer of their petitions.

After the purgation of the house, upon new debate of the treaty at the Isle of Wight, it was concluded dangerous to the realme and destructive to the better interest, and the triall of the king was determin'd. He was sent for to Westminster, and a commission given forth to a court of high iustice, whereof Bradshaw, serjeant at law, was president, and divers honorable persons of the parliament, citie, and armie, nominated commissioners. Among them Coll. Hutchinson was one, who, very much against his owne will, was put in, but looking upon himselfe as call'd hereunto, durst not refuse it, as holding himselfe oblieg'd by the covenant of God and the publick trust of his country repos'd in him, although he was not ignorant of the danger he runne as the condition of things then was.

In January 1648 the court sate, the king was brought to his triall, and a charge drawne up against him for leavying warre against the parliament and people of England, for betreying their publick trust repos'd in him, and for being an implacable enemie to the commonwealth. But the king refus'd to plead, disowning the authority of the court, and after three severall dayes persisting in contempt thereof, he was sentenc'd to suffer death.* One thing was remark'd in him by many of the court, that when the bloud spilt in many of the battles where he was in his owne person, and had caus'd it to be shed by his owne command, was lay'd to his charge, he heard it with disdainefull smiles, and looks and gestures, which rather exprest sorrow that all the opposite party to him was not cutt off, then that any were: and he stuck not to declare in words that no man's blood spilt in this quarrel troubled him but only one, meaning the Earle of Strafford. The gentlemen that were appoynted his iudges, and divers others, saw in him a disposition so bent on the ruine of all that oppos'd him, and of all the righteous and iust things they had contended for, that it was upon the consciences of many of them that if they did not execute iustice upon him, God would require at their hands all the blood and desolation which should ensue by their suffering him to escape, when God had brought him into their hands. Although the mallice of the mallignant party and their apostate brethren seem'd to threaten them, yett they thought they ought to cast themselves upon God, while they acted with a good conscience for him and their country. Some of them after, to excuse, belied themselves, and sayd they were under the awe of the armie, and overperswaded by Cromwell, and the like; but it is certeine that all men herein were left to their free liberty of acting, neither perswaded nor compelled; and as there were some nominated in the commission who never sate, and others who sate at first, but durst not hold on, so all the rest might have declin'd it if they would, when it is apparent they should have suffer'd nothing by so doing. For those who then declin'd were afterwards, when they offer'd themselves, receiv'd in againe, and had places of more trust and benefitt then those who run the utmost hazard; which they deserv'd not, for I know upon certeine knowledge that many, yea the most of them, retreated not for conscience, but for feare and worldly prudence, foreseeing that the insolency of the armie might grow to that height as to ruine the cause, and reduce the kingdome into the hands of the enemie; and then those who had bene most courageous in their country's cause should be given up as victims. These poore men did privately animate those who appear'd most publiquely, and I knew severall of them in whom I liv'd to see that saying of Christ fulfill'd, "He that will save "his life shall loose it, and he that for my "sake will loose his life shall save it;" when after it fell out that all their prudent declensions sav'd not the lives of some nor the estates of others. As for Mr. Hutchinson, although he was very much confirm'd in his iudgment concerning the cause, yett here being call'd to an extraordinary action, whereof many were of severall minds, he address'd himselfe to God by prayer, desiring the Lord that, if through any humane frailty he were led into any error or false opinion in these greate transactions, he would open his eies, and not suffer him to proceed, but that he would confirme his spiritt in the truth, and lead him by a right-enlightened conscience; and finding no check, but a confirmation in his conscience that it was his duty to act as he did, he, upon serious debate, both privately and in his addresses to God, and in conferences with conscientious, upright, unbiassed persons, proceeded to sign the sentence against the king. Although he did not then believe but it might one day come to be againe disputed among men, yett both he and others thought they could not refuse it without giving up the people of God, whom they had led forth and engaged themselves unto by the oath of God, into the hands of God's and their enemies, and therefore he cast himselfe upon God's protection, acting according to the dictates of a conscience which he had sought the Lord to guide, and accordingly the Lord did signalize his favour afterwards to him.*

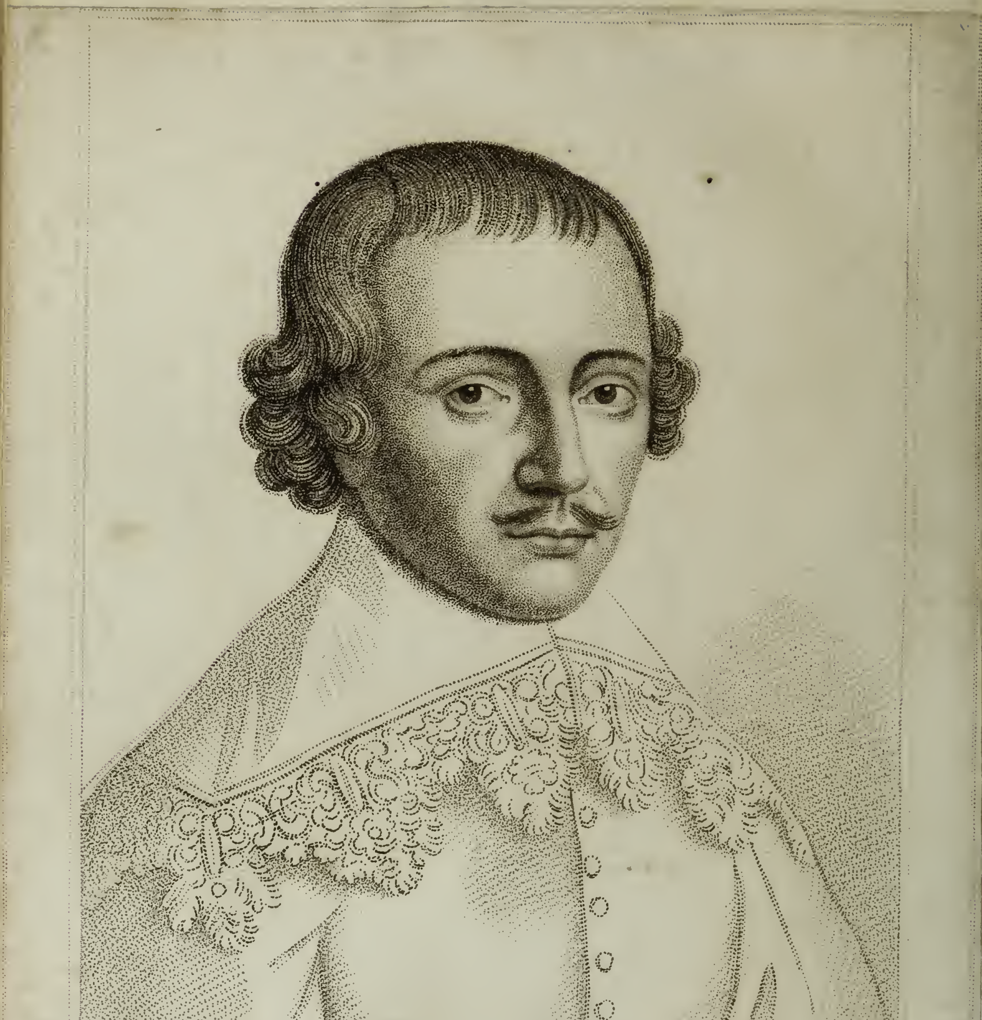
---

* Without entering into the *merits* of the question, we may safely assert that the trial of the king was *without precedent*, though many sovereigns had been deposed and put to death *without trial*. It may appear fanciful to many to suggest that the precedent set at this period could have any influence on the fate of the unfortunate Louis XVI.; but those who have well observed the proneness of the French to mimickry *(singerie)*, and particularly at the time of their first revolution, their *Anglomania*, or apeing of the English (preferably in their foibles), will not be far from believing that this precedent emboldened them to the mockery of justice, which they exhibited in his trial and condemnation. It is true that many, and even most, circumstances were wanting to render the cases parallel, but they were determined to come up to the height of the English revolution *(à la hauteur des Anglois)*, and therefore malice and invention supplied all deficiencies.

After the death of the king, it was debated and resolv'd to change the forme of government from monarchicall into a commonwealth, and the house of lords was voted dangerous and useless thereunto, and dissolved. A councell of state was to be annually chosen for the management of affaires, accountable to the parliament, out of which, consisting of 40 councellors and a president, 20 were every yeare to goe of by lot, and 20 new ones to be supplied. It is true that at that time every

---

* The account here given of Col. Hutchinson's motives in this great transaction is most ingenuous, and lays his conduct fairly open to the discussion and decision of the reader, who, according to his own feelings, will determine it for himself to be *commendable*, *censurable*, or *venial*. The legislature unanimously voted it *venial*.—It would be an invidious, but not a very difficult task, to point out the persons who, by their *politic declensions*, failed of saving their lives and estates; but it is worthy notice that Fairfax, after the restoration, with that ingenuousness which belonged to him, declared (Ludlow, vol. iii. p. 10.), " that if any person must be excepted from par- " don for the death of the king, he knew no man that " deserved it more than himself, who being general of the " army, and having power sufficient to prevent the pro- " ceedings against the king, had not thought fit to use it " to that end." It is needless to multiply examples, one reasoning extending to the whole.



Bullfinch delt. R.Cooper sculpt.

JOHN LILBOURNE

man allmost was fancying a forme* of government, and angrie, when this came forth, that his invention tooke not place; and among these John Lilbourne, a turbulent-spirited man, that never was quiet in any thing, publisht libells, and the levellers made a disturbance with a kind of insurrection, which Cromwell soon appeased, they indeed being betrey'd by their owne leaders.

But how the publique business went on, how Cromwell finisht the conquest of Ireland, how the angrie presbiterians spitt fire out of their pulpitts, and endeavour'd to blow up the people against the parliament, how they enter'd into a treasonable conspiracy with Scotland, who had now receiv'd and crown'd the sonne of the late king, who led them in hither in a greate armie, which the Lord of Hosts discomfited; how our publick ministers were assassinated and murther'd in Spayne and Holland, and how the Dutch, in this unsettlement of affaires, hoped to gaine by making warre, wherein they were beaten and brought to sue for peace, I shall leave to the stories that were then written, and only in generall say that the hand of God was mightily seene in prospering and preserving the parliament till Cromwell's ambition unhappily interrupted them. Mr. Hutchinson was chosen into the first councell of state, much against his owne will; for, understanding that his cousin Ireton was one of the commissioners to nominate that councell, he sent his wife to him, before he went to the house, that morning they were to be named, to desire him, upon all the scores of kindred and kindnesse that had bene betweene them, that he might be left out, in regard that he had allready wasted his time and his estate in the parliament service; and having neither had recompense for his losses, nor any office of benefitt, it would finish his ruine, to be tied by this employment to a close and chargeable attendance, besides the inconvenience of his health, not yet thoroughly confirm'd, his constitution more suitable to an active than to a sedentary life: these and other things he privately urg'd to him; but he, that was a man regardless of his owne or any man's private interest, wherever he thought the publick service might be advantag'd, instead of keeping him out, got him in, when the collonell had prevail'd with others to have indulg'd him that ease he desir'd. Mr. Hutchinson, after he had endeavour'd to decline this employment and could not, thought that herein, as in other occasions, it being put upon him without his owne desire, God had call'd him to his service in councells as formerly in arms, and applied himselfe to this alsoe, wherein he did his duty faithfully, and employ'd his power to relieve the oppressed and deiected, freely becomming the advocate of those who had bene his late enemies, in all things that were iust and charitable. Though he had now an oppertunity to have enricht himselfe, as 'tis to be fear'd some in all times have done, by accepting rewards for even iust assistances, and wanted not many who offer'd them and sollicited him therein, yet such was his generous nature that he abhorr'd the mention of aniething like reward, though never so iustly merited, and although he did a thousand high oblieging kindnesses for many, both friends and enemies, he never had aniething in mony or presents of any man.* The truth is, on the contrary, he mett with many that had not the good manners to make so much as a civill verball acknowledgment. Among the rest, one Sr. John Owen may stand for a pillar of ingratitude. This man was wholly unknowne to him, and with Duke Hamilton, the Earle of Holland, the Lord Capell, and the Lord Goring, condemn'd to death by a second high court of iustice. Of this though the collonell was nominated a commissioner, he would not sitt, his unbloody nature desiring to spare the rest of the delinquents, after the highest had suffer'd, and not delighting in the death of men, when they could live without cruelty to better men. The parliament alsoe was willing to shew mercy to some of these, and to execute others for example; whereupon the whole house was diversely engag'd, some for one and some for another of these lords, and striving to cast away those they were not concern'd in, that they might save their friends. While there was such mighty labour and endeavour for these lords, Coll. Hutchinson observ'd that no man spoke for this poore knight, and sitting next to Coll. Ireton, he express'd himselfe to him and told him, that it pittied him much to see that, while all were labouring to save the the lords, a gentleman, that stood in the same condemnation, should not find one friend to aske his life; "and so," sayd he, "am I "moov'd with compassion that, if you will se- "cond me, I am resolv'd to speake for him, "who, I perceive, is a stranger and friend- "lesse." Ireton promis'd to second him, and accordingly enquiring further of the man's condition, whether he had not a petition in any member's hand, he found that his keepers had brought one to the clearke of the house, but the man had not found any one that would interest themselves for him, thinking the lords' lives of so much more concernment then this gentleman's. This the more stirr'd up the collonell's generous pitty, and he took the petition, deliver'd it, spoke for him so nobly, and was so effectually seconded by Ireton, that they carried his pardon clear. Yet although one who knew the whole circumstance of the businesse, how Mr. Hutchinson, moov'd by meere compassion and generosity, had procur'd his life, told him, who admir'd his owne escape, how it came about, he never was the man that so much as once came to give him thankes; nor was his fellow prisoner Goring, for whom the collonell had alsoe effectually sollicited, more grateful.*

---

* A natural consequence of great popular revolutions, in which the modern French have had the glory of outdoing all the world!

---

* The lists of the two first councils, which embraced almost the whole duration of the republic, are preserved by Whitelock, and Col. Hutchinson is in each of them: he went out at the formation of the third. It is extremely to be regretted that Mrs. Hutchinson should have been so concise in this part of her history, it being a period which naturally excites much curiosity, but of which we have only indistinct, and, generally speaking, invidious and partial accounts.

---

* This is differently represented by Whitelock, Rapin, and Ludlow. Whitelock says simply that he was reprieved; Rapin, that his sentence was suspended, be-

Some of the army, being very desireous to get among them a person of whose fidellity and integrity to the cause they had so good experience, had moov'd it to the generall, my Lord Fairfax, who had commanded to have it enquir'd what way he would chuse to be employ'd, and when he had told them that, in regard to his famely, which he would not willingly be much absent from, he should rather accept the government of some towne then a field employment, four governments were brought to him, to elect which he would have; whereof Plimmouth and Portsmouth, and one more in the west, being at a vast distance from his owne country, Hull in the north, though a lesse beneficiall charge then the other, he made choice of, thinking they had not offer'd him aniething but what was fairely fallen into their dispose. Soone after this the lieftenant-generall, Cromwell, desir'd him to meete him one afternoone att a com-

---

cause he should have been tried by an inferior court; and Ludlow, that Ireton moved the house in his favour, omitting Col. Hutchinson either by negligence or design: there is some reason to think it to have been by the latter. Notwithstanding Col. Hutchinson experienced ingratitude from many individuals, the general and collective sense of his justice and benevolence will be seen to have its full operation in his favour in the sequel.

mittee, where, when he came, a mallicious accusation against the governor of Hull was violently prosecuted by a fierce faction in that towne. To this the governor had sent up a very faire and honest defence, yet most of the committee more favouring the adverse faction, were labouring to cast out the governor. Coll. Hutchinson, though he knew him not, was very earnest in his defence, whereupon Cromwell drew him aside, and askt him what he meant to contend so, to keepe in that governor? (it was Overton). The collonell told him, because he saw nothing proov'd against him worthy of being eiected. " But," sayd Cromwell, " we like him not." Then sayd the collonell, " Doe it upon that account, and blemish not a man that is innocent, upon false " accusations, because you like him not." " But," sayd Cromwell, " wee would have " him out, because the government is design'd " for you, and except you put him out you " cannot have the place." At this the collonell was very angrie, and with greate indignation told him, if there was no way to bring him into their army but by casting out others uniustly, he would rather fall naked before his enemies, then so seeke to put himselfe into a posture of defence. Then returning to the table, he so eagerly undertooke the iniured governor's protection that he foyl'd his enemies, and the governor was confirm'd in his place. This so displeas'd Cromwell that, as before, so much more now, he saw that even his owne interest would not byasse him into any uniust faction, he secretly labour'd to frustrate the attempts of all others who, for the same reason that Cromwell labour'd to keepe him out, labour'd as much to bring him in.

But now had the poyson of ambition so ulcerated Cromwell's heart, that the effects of it became more apparent than before, and while as yett Fairfax stood an empty name, he was moulding the army to his mind, weeding out the godly and upright-hearted men, both officers and souldiers, and filling up their roomes with rascally turne-coate cavaliers, and pittifull sottish beasts of his owne alliance, and other such as would swallow all things, and make no question for conscience sake. Yet this he did not directly nor in tumult, but by such degrees that it was unperceiv'd by all that were not of very penetrating eies, and those that made the loudest outcries against him lifted up their voyces with such apparent envie and mallice that, in that mist, they rather hid then discover'd his ambitious minings. Among these Coll. Rich and Commissary Staines and Watson had made a designe even against his life, and the businesse was brought to the examination of the councell of state. Before the hearing of it Coll. Rich came to Coll. Hutchinson and implor'd his assistance with teares, affirming all the crimes of Cromwell, but not daring to iustifie his accusations, although the collonell advis'd him if they were true to stand boldly to it, if false to acknowledge his owne iniquity. The latter course he tooke, and the councell had resolv'd upon the iust punishment of the men, when Cromwell, having only thus in a private councell vindicated himselfe from the mallice, and lay'd open what pittifull sneaking poore knaves they were, how ungratefull to him, and how treacherous and cowardly to themselves, he became their advocate, and made it his suite they might be no farther publisht or punisht. This being permitted him, and they thus render'd contemptible to others, they became beasts and slaves to him, who knew how to serve himselfe of them without trusting them. This generosity, for indeed he carried himselfe with the greatest bravery that is imaginable herein, much advanc'd his glory, and clear'd him in the eies of superficiall beholders; but others saw he crept on, and could not stop him, while fortune itselfe seem'd to prepare his way* in sundry occasions. All this while he carried to Mr. Hutchinson the most open face, and made the most obleiging professions of friendship imaginable, but the collonell saw through him, and forbore not often to tell him what was suspected of his ambition, what dissimulations of his were remarked, and how dishonorable to the name of God and the profession of religion, and destructive to the most glorious cause, and dangerous to overthrow all our triumphs, these things which were suspected of him would be, if true. He would seem to receive these cautions and admonitions as the greatest demonstrations of integrity and friendship that could be made, and embrace the collonell in his armes, and make serious lying professions to him, and often enquire men's opinions concerning him, which the collonell never forbore to tell him plainly, although he knew he resented it not as he made shew, yett it pleas'd him so to discharge his owne thoughts.†

---

* By the admirers of Tacitus the development of this intrigue will be highly relished: it aids likewise to confirm the remark that Cromwell's forte lay in watching and adroitly seizing opportunities, not in creating or inventing them. By the former method a man swims with the tide of human affairs, and is assisted by it; by the latter he must stem and encounter it.

† Men who think superficially will instantly proclaim

The islanders of Jersey wanting a governor, and being acquainted, through the famil-liarity many of their countriemen had with him, with the abillities and honour of Coll. Hutchinson, they address'd themselves to my Lord Generall Fairfax, and petition'd to have him for their governor, which my lord assented to; and accordingly commanded a commission to be drawne up, which was done; but the collonell made not haste to take it out. But my lord, having order'd the commission, regarded him as governor, and when the modell of the castle was brought to my lord to procure orders and mony for the repaire of the fortifications, he sent it to the collonell, and all other businesse concerning the island.

In the meanetime, the Scotts having declar'd open warre against the parliament of England, it was concluded to send an armie into Scotland, to prevent their intended advance hither. But when they were iust marching out, my Lord Fairfax, perswaded by his wife and her chaplains, threw up his commission at such a

---

the simplicity of Col. Hutchinson, and the shrewdness of Cromwell; those who think deeper, will in that simplicity see wisdom, in that shrewdness a more exquisite folly. In life, in death, and in reputation, which of these two was the happier? In modern times, can it be doubted which of the two any man would chuse to resemble, Washington or Bonaparte?

time, when it could not have bene done more spitefully and ruinously to the whole parliament interest. Coll. Hutchinson and other parliament men, hearing of his intentions the night before, and knowing that he would thus levell the way to Cromwell's ambitious designes, went to him and labour'd to disswade him; which they had effected, but that the presbiterian ministers wrought with him to doe it. He exprest that he believ'd God lay'd him aside, as not being worthy of more, nor of that glory which was already given him.

To speake the truth of Cromwell, whereas many say'd he undermined Fairfax, it was false; for in Coll. Hutchinson's presence, he most effectually importun'd him to keepe his commission, least it should discourage the army and the people in that iuncture of time, but could by no means prevàile, allthough he labour'd it allmost all the night with most earnest endeavours.* But this greate man was then as unmoovable by his friends as pertinacious in obeying his wife; whereby he then died to all his former glory, and became the monument of his owne name, which every day wore out. When his commission was given up, Cromwell was made generall, and new commissions taken out by all the officers from him. He finding that Coll. Hutchinson's commission for the island was not taken out, and that he addrest not to him, made hast to pre-

---

* Whitelock tells the same story nearly in the same manner, but thinks Cromwell was not sincere: yet certainly he took all the same steps with those who were unquestionably so. How little soever Cromwell might wish to succeed, there was good policy in attending this conference, as it might in some degree serve to diminish the suspicions entertained of his own ambitious views, and prevent their being urged in argument to Fairfax, which,

---

if he had been absent, they most likely would have been. Be this as it may, it may be truly said,

Ex illo fluere et retro sublapsi referri
Res Danaum.

For the true republicans or commonwealth's men,

From thence the tide of fortune left their shore,
And ebb'd much faster than it flow'd before.

For it was only with the co-operation of a man, who to his martial talents, which certainly exceeded all of his time, added that moderation and integrity, which will distinguish Fairfax to the end of time, that the great politicians of those days could have planned and finished such schemes of representation, legislation, and administration, as would have rendered the nation great and happy, either as a commonwealth or mixed government. They had in some respects such opportunities as never can again arise; and if the presbyterians have nothing else to answer for, the perverting the judgment of this excellent man was a fault never to be forgiven; if the ruin of their own cause could expiate it, they were not long before they made that atonement.

vent the islanders, and gave a commission for the government to one of his owne creatures. At this time the Lady Dormer being dead, had left to her grandchild, a Papist, the Lady Anne Somersett, daughter to the Marquesse of Worcester, a mannour in Leicestershire, which the lady, being more desireous of a portion in mony, had a greate mind to sell, and came and offer'd it to Coll. Hutchinson, with whom she had some alliance; but he told her he was not in a purchasing condition, whereupon she earnestly beg'd him, that if he would not buy it himselfe, he would procure of the parliament, that she might have leave to sell it. This he moov'd and was repuls'd, whereupon both the lady, and one that was her priest, who negotiated for her, and other friends, most earnestly sollicited Collonell Hutchinson to buy it; who urging that he had not mony for such a purchase, they offer'd him time of payment, till he could sell his owne land, and assur'd him it should be such a pennieworth, as he should not repent the selling his owne land to buy it. He urg'd to them the trouble and difficulty it would be to obteine it, and that it might so fall that he must lay a weight upon it, more then the thing would be worth to him, he never having yet made any request to the house, and having reason to expect recompences for the losse of his estate, as well as others. But my lady still importun'd him, promising a penniemworth in it, that should countervaile the difficulty and the trouble; whereupon, at the last, he contracted with her, upon both her and her brother's desire, the Lord Herbert, who was her next heire, and was then at full age, and gave a release of all claime to it, under his hand and seale; and my lady, being betweene 19 and 20 yeares old, then past a fine, and covenanted att her comming to full age to passe another, and absolutely bargained and sold the land to Coll. Hutchinson, who secured the price of it to the Marquesse of Dorchester, whom the lady and her friends had a greate hope and desire to compasse for a husband, and had thoughts, that when the portion was secur'd in his hands, it would be easily effected. This they afterwards entrusted to Coll. Hutchinson, and desired his assistance to propound the businesse to my lord, as from himselfe, out of mutuall well-wishes to both parties; but my lord would not hearken to it, though the collonell, willing to do her a kindnesse, endeavoured to perswade him, as much as was fitting. In the mean time the collonell could not, by all the friends and interest he had in the house, procure a composition and leave for my lady to sell her land, because they say'd it would be a precedent to other Papists, and some moov'd, that what service he had done, and what he had lost, might be some other way consider'd, rather then this any way suffer'd. But he vigorously persuing it, and laying all the weight of all his meritts and sufferings upon it, all that he could obteine at last was, to be himselfe admitted, in his owne name, for taking of of the sequestration, after he had bought it, which he did; and they tooke two thousand pounds of him for his composition. By the interest of Sr. Henry Vane and severall others of his friends, powerfull in the house, this too was with much difficulty wrought out, though violently oppos'd by severall others. Of these Maior-generall Harrison was one, and he, when he saw that he could not prevaile, but that in favour particularly to Coll. Hutchinson, it was carried out by his friends; after the rising of the house, meeting the collonell, he embrac'd him, and desir'd him not to think he did it in any personal opposition to him, but in his iudgment, who thought it fitt the spoyle should be taken out of the enemies hands, and no composition admitted from idolaters. Whatever might be particular advantage to him, he envied not, but reioic'd in, only he so dearly lov'd him, that he desir'd he would not sett his heart upon the augmenting of outward estate, but upon the things of the approaching kingdome of God, concerning which he made a most pious and seeming friendly harangue, of at least an howr long, with all the demonstrations of zeale to God and love to the collonell that can be imagined. But the collonell, having reason to feare that he knew not his owne spiritt herein, made him only a short reply, that he thanked him for his councell, and should endeavour to follow it, as became the duty of a Christian, and should be glad to be as effectually instructed by his example as his admonition. For att that time the maior-generall, who was but a meane man's sonne, and of a meane education, and no estate before the warre had gather'd an estate of two thousand a yeare, besides engrossing greate offices, and encroaching upon his under officers, and maintain'd his coach and famely, at a heighth as if they had bene borne to principallity.

About the same time a greate ambassador was to have publick audience in the house, he came from the king of Spaine, and was the first who had addrest to them owning them as a republick. The day before his audience, Coll. Hutchinson was sett in the house, neere some young men handsomely clad, among whom was Mr. Charles Rich, since Earle of Warwick; and the collonell himselfe had on that day a habitt which was pretty rich but grave, and no other then he usually wore. Harrison addressing particularly to him, admonisht them all, that now the nations sent to them, they should labour to shine before them in wisedome, piety, righteousnesse and iustice, and not in gold and silver and worldly bravery, which did not become saints; and that the next day when the ambassadors came they should not sett themselves out in gorgeous habitts, which were unsuitable to holy professions. The collonell, although he was not convinc'd of anie misbecoming bravery in the suite he wore that day, which was but of sad colour'd cloth trimm'd with gold, and silver poynts and buttons; yet because he would not appear offensive in the eies of religious persons, the next day he went in a plaine black suite, and so did all the other gentlemen, but Harrison came that day in a scarlett coate and cloake, both laden with gold and silver lace, and the coate so cover'd with clinquant *, that scarcely could one discerne the ground, and in this glittering habitt, sett himselfe iust under the speaker's chaire; which made the other gentlemen think that his

---

* Clinquant; *French*, foil.

godly speeches, the day before, were but made, that he alone might appear in the eies of strangers. But this was part of his weaknesse, the Lord at last lifted him above these poore earthly elevations, which then and sometime after prevail'd too much with him.*

After the collonell had bought my lady's land, some that were extreamely vext at her having that summe of money, dealt with the collonell to permit them to sequester it in his hands, and offer'd him he should have it all himselfe, which, he told them, he would be torne to pieces before he would doe, and that it was a treachery and villainy that he abhorr'd. Though, notwithstanding this, he were much prest he would not yield, and to prevent force, which they threaten'd, after mooving in the house, how dangerous it was to suffer such a summe of money to be in the hands of the daughter of an excepted person, especially at such a time (for now the king was crown'd in Scotland, and the Scotts ready to invade, and the presbiters to ioyne with them), the collonell put the mony out of his owne hands, to preserve it for my lady. All that time both she and her brother, and other friends, made all the acknowledgments of obligation that was possible. Not to confound stories, I finish the memoriall of this here.

---

* Ludlow gives very extraordinary accounts of his devotion to that which he thought the cause of God, as well as of his readiness to suffer martyrdom for it when it was in his power to avoid that severe trial.

After the parliament was broken up by Cromwell, and after that my lady, seeing her proiect of marrying with my Lord Dorchester would not take, had embrac'd an offer of Mr. Henry Howard, second sonne to the Earle of Arundell, and when in the protector's time, the Papists wanted not patrons, she began to repent the selling of her land, which before she thought such a blessing, and told her husband false stories, as he alledg'd, though his future carriage made it iustly suspitious, he was as unworthy as she.*

The collonell, presently after he had that land, had very much improov'd it, to a fourth part more than it was att when he bought it, and they, envying his good bargaine, desired to have it againe out of his hands, nor dealt fairely and directly in the thing, but employed a cunning person, Maior Wildman, who was then a greate manager of Papists' interests, to get the land againe, which he was to have four hundred pounds for, if he could do it. Whereupon he presently gott mony and came to the gentleman who had a mortgage upon it, for three thousand pounds taken up to pay my lady, and tender'd it. But Mr. Ash, a greate friend of the collonell's was so faithfull that he would not accept it, and then Wildman began a chancery suit, thinking that the collonell, being out of favour with the present powers, would be necessitated to take any composition. When he had put the collonell to a greate deal of vaine charge, and found he could doe no good, at last they desir'd to make up the businesse, and the lady and Mr. Howard past a new fine to confirme the title, and the collonell was deliver'd from further trouble with them, till after the change and the returne of the king. Then, when the parliament men began to come into question for their lives, my Lord of Portland and Mr. Howard came to Mrs. Hutchinson's lodgings three or foure times, while she was out solliciting for her husband, and my lord left her a message, that he must needs speake with her, upon a businesse of much concernment; whereupon she sought out my lord, knowing that he had profest much kindnesse and obligation to her husband, and thinking he might have some designe now to acknowledge it by some reall assistance. But when she came to him, he told her, her husband was in danger of his life, and that if he would resigne back Loseby to Mr. Howard, he would helpe him to a good summe of mony to flie, and Mr. Howard would stand to the hazard of buying it; but she being vext that my lord should interrupt her with this frivolous proposition, told my lord she would hazard it with the rest of her estate, rather then make up such desperate bargaines. When Mr. Howard saw this would not doe, he prepar'd a petition to get it excepted out of the act of oblivion, pretending that his wife being under age, the collonell had by power and frawd wrested her out of her estate. But when he shew'd this petition to his friends, they being inform'd of the falsenesse of the allegations, would none of them undertake either to deliver or back it. Only one Sr. Richard Onslow was a violent men, rayling against the collonell concerning this, but he not long after died by a blast of lightning. Others of his friends, when they understood that he himselfe had ioyn'd in the confirmation of the fine, after the collonell was retir'd, in the protector's reigne, bade him for shame no more make mention of his lady's being fool'd or frighten'd to an act which he had voluntarily done. Many told the collonell how unsafe it was to displease a person who had so many powerfull allies that might mischiefe him, but the collonell would neither be frighted nor flatter'd to give away his estate, which when Hr. Howard found, he let fall his purpose, and made no more vaine endeavours.*

---

* In the third vol. of Clarendon's State Papers, in a letter of his, dated Aug. 1655, he says, "Cromwell hypocri- "tically pretends kindness to the Catholicks, but the "Levellers have real candour towards them, and are im- "placable enemies to Cromwell."

And now to returne to his story where I left it, I shall not mention every particular action of his in the employment of a senator and councellor of the realms, but only some which were more remarkable, to shew the honour and excellency of his nature, among which this was one. When his old opposites and enemies of the Nottingham committee had enter'd into the Presbiterian conspiracy, so deepe, that their lives were forfeit to the law, had they bene brought to publick triall, and this was discover'd to him; and alsoe that Coll. Pierrepont was the chiefe of them, he tooke care to have the businesse so manag'd, that Coll. Pierrepont was past by in the information, and others so favourably accus'd, that they were only restrein'd from the mischife they intended, and kept prisoners till the danger was over, and after, through his mediation releas'd, without any further punishment on their persons and estates, though Chadwick's eldest sonne was one of these. For Coll. Pierrepont, he only privately admonisht him, and endeavour'd to reclaime him, which the man, being good natur'd, was infinitely overcome with, insomuch that ever after, to his dying day, all his envy ceast, and he profest all imaginable friendship and kindnesse to the collonell. Indeede his excellent gentlenesse was such, that he not only protected and sav'd these enemies, wherein there was some glory of passing by revenge, but was compassionately affected with the miseries of any poore woemen or children, who had bene unfortunately, though deservedly, ruin'd in the civill warre; and without any interest of his owne in the persons, whenever any ruin'd famely came to seeke reliefe, where he was in power, he was as zealous in assisting all such, as farre as it might be done with the safety of the commonwealth, as if they had bene his brothers. As it was a misery to be bewail'd in those dayes, that many of the parliament party exercis'd cruelty, iniustice, and oppression, to their conquer'd enemies, wherever he discover'd it he violently oppos'd it, and defended even those enemies that were by might oppress'd and defrauded of the mercies of the parliament. Upon this account he had contests with some good men, who were weake in these things, some through too factious a zeall, and others blinded with their owne or their friends' interests. Among these Coll. Hacker's father, having married my Lady Biron's mother, was made a trustee for the estate of her sonne, which she had by Strelley her first husband. He had about 1800l. of the estate of young Strelley in his hands, which, he dying, his eldest sonne and heire Coll. Francis Hacker, was liable and iusly ought to pay. Young Strelley died in France, and left his estate to his halfe brother, the sonne of Sir Richard Biron, who all the time of the first warre, was at schoole in Coll. Hutchinson's garrison at Nottingham, and after was sent into France. Being there, an infant, when this estate fell to him, he return'd and chose Coll. Hutchinson for his guardian, who overcame Coll. Hacker in the right of his pupill, and recover'd that mony out of his hands, which he would not have pay'd, if the infant had not found a friend that was heartily zealous to obtaine his iust right. Sr. Arthur Haslerig was a greate patrone of Coll. Hacker's, and labour'd to beare him out against iustice and the infant's right in this thing; and, when the collonell had overcome him, they were both displeas'd; for Hacker, on the other side, was such a creature of Sr. Arthur's, that, without questioning iustice or honesty, he was more dilligent in obeying Sr. Arthur's then God's commands. Sr. Allen Apsley had articles at the rendition of Barnstable, whereof he was governor, and contrary to these, he was put to vast expence and horrible vexation, by severall persons, but especially by one wicked weoman, who had the worst and the smoothest tongue that ever her sex made use of to mischiefe. She was handsome in her youth, and had very pretty girles to her daughters, whom, when they grew up, she prostituted to her revenge and mallice against Sr. Allen Apsley, which was so venomous and devillish, that she stuck not at inventing false accusations, and hiring witnesses to swear them, and a thousand other as enormous practises. In those dayes there was a committee set up, for reliefe of such as had any violation of their articles, and of this Bradshaw was president; into whose easie faith this woman, pretending herselfe religious, and of the parliament's party, had so insinuated herselfe, that Sr. Allen's way of reliefe was obstructed. Coll. Hutchinson labouring mightily in his protection, and often foyling this vile woman, and bringing to light her devillish practises, turn'd the woman's spite into as violent a tumult against himselfe, and Bradshaw was so hott in abbetting her, that he grew coole in his kindnesse to the collonell, yet broke it not quite: but the collonell was very much griev'd that a friend should engage in so uniust an opposition. At last it was manifest how much they were mistaken that would have assisted this woman upon a score of being on the parliament's side, for she was all this while a spie for the king, and after his returne, Sr. Allen Apsley met er in the king's chamber waiting for recomhpense for that service. The thing she sued Sr. Allen Apsley for, was for a house of her's in the garrison of Barnstable, which was pull'd downe to fortifie the towne for the king, before he was governor of the place. Yett would she have had his articles violated to make her a recompense out of his estate, treble and more than the value of the house, pretending she was of the parliament's party, and that Sr. Allen in mallice thereunto, had without necessity pull'd downe her house. All which were horrible lies, but so malliciously and so wickedly affirm'd and sworne by her mercenary witnesses, that they at first found faith, and it was hard for truth afterwards to overcome that prepossession.

---

* How, when, or by whom this estate at Loseby was sold again, the editor has not been able to discover, it never having come into the hands of this branch of the family, which purchased Owthorpe. One of the estates sold by Col. Hutchinson in his lifetime, was that of Ratcliffe on Soar, which is spoken of in a note as given to Sir Thomas Hutchinson by his uncle Sacheverell; the purchaser was Alderman Ireton, and it was, in all probability, sold to enable him, jointly with the money borrowed of Mr. Ash, to purchase this estate.

The collonell prosecuting the defence of truth and iustice, in these and many more things, and abhorring all councells of securing the young commonwealth, by cruelty and oppression of the vanquisht, who had not laid downe their hate, in delivering up their armes, and were therefore, by some cowards, iudg'd unworthy of the mercy extended to them, the collonell, I say, disdaining such thoughts, displeas'd many of his owne party, who, in the maine, we hope, might have bene honest, although through divers temptations, guilty of horrible slips, which did more offend the collonell's pure zeale, who detested these sins more in brethren then in enemies.

Now was Cromwell sole generall, and marcht into Scotland, and the Scots ready to invade, and the presbyters to assist them here. The army being small, there was a necessity of recruites, and the councell of state solliciting all the parliament men that had interest, to improve it in this exigence of time, they gave Coll. Hutchinson a commission for a regiment of horse. He immediately gott up three troopes, well armed and mounted, of his owne old souldiers, that thirsted to be againe employ'd under him, and was preparing the rest of the regiment to carry after them himselfe, when he was inform'd, that assoone as his troopes came into Scotland, Cromwell very readily receiv'd them, but would not let them march together, but disperst them, to fill up the regiments of those who were more his creatures. The collonell hearing this, would not carry him any more, but rather employ'd himselfe in securing, as much as was necessary, his owne country, for which he was sent downe by the councell of state, who at that time were very much surpris'd att hearing that the king of Scots was past by Cromwell, and enter'd with a greate armie into England. Bradshaw himselfe, as stout-hearted as he was, privately could not conceale his feare: some raged and utter'd sad discontents against Cromwell, and suspitions of his fidelity, they all considering that Cromwell was behind, of whom I think they scarce had any account, or of his intention, or how this error came about, to suffer the enemie to enter here, where there was no armie to encounter him. Both the city and country, (by the angrie presbyters, wavering in their constancy to them and the liberties they had purchas'd), were all amaz'd, and doubtfull of their owne and the commonwealth's safety. Some could not hide very pale and unmanly feares, and were in such distraction of spiritt, as much disturb'd their councells. Coll. Hutchinson, who ever had most vigour and chearefullnesse, when there was most danger, encourag'd them as they were one day in a private councell, raging and crying out on Cromwell's miscarriages, to applie themselves to councells of safety, and not to lose time in accusing others, while they might yet provide to save the endanger'd realme, at least to fall nobly in defence of it, and not to yield to feare and despaire. These and such like things being urg'd, at length they recollected themselves, and every man that had courage and interest in their countries, went downe to looke to them. * Coll. Hutchinson came downe into Nottinghamshire, and secur'd those who were suspitious to make any commotion, and putt the country into such a posture of defence as the time would permitt. But it was not long before the king chose

---

* The trepidation of the council of state, and the zeal with which they were supported, are well described by Whitelock. Whether Cromwell suffered the king to pass by him designedly or otherwise, is uncertain; but it is very likely that he did it by design, as knowing that those who did not like, for the same reason as Coll. Hutchinson, to send forces to him, would, for their own sakes, bring them forward to oppose the king. Either his fortune or his judgment was great.

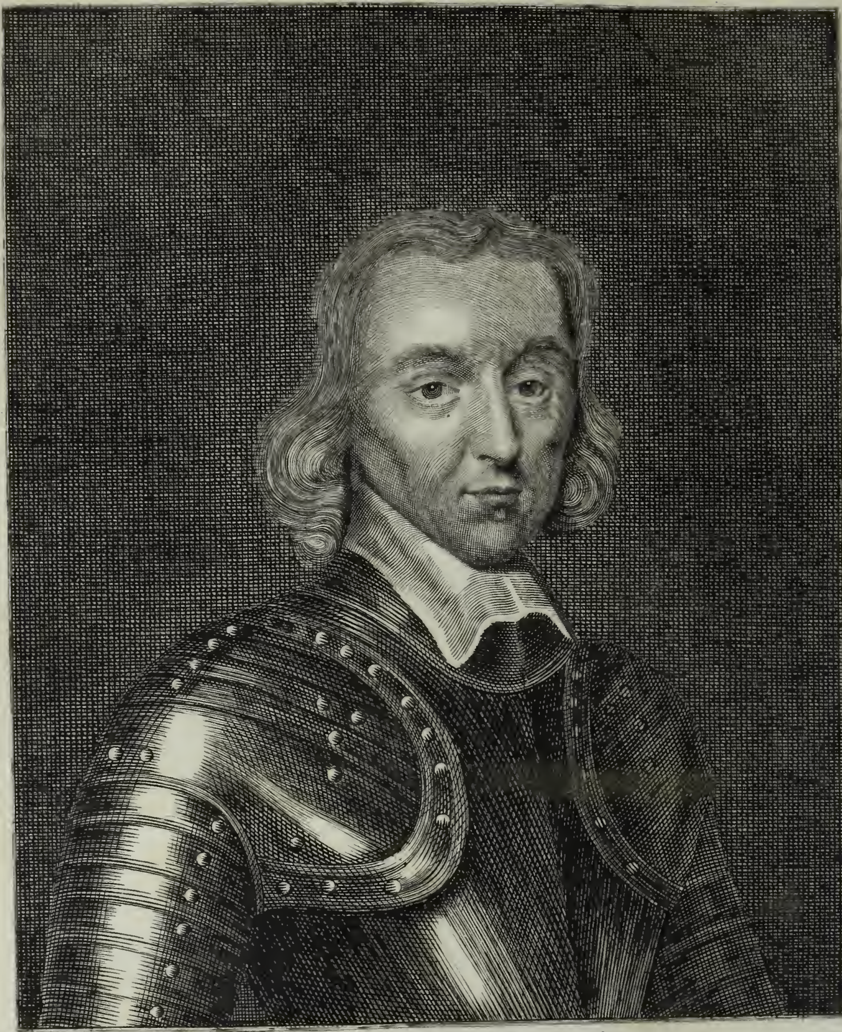
another way, and went to Worcester. Cromwell following swiftly after with his armie, and other forces meeting him from severall other parts, they fought with the king and his Scotts, totally routed and subdued him, and he, with difficulty, after concealment in an oake and many other shifts, stole away into France.

When the collonell hear'd how Cromwell us'd his troopes, he was confirm'd that he and his associates in the armie, were carrying on designes of private ambition, and resolv'd that none should share with them in the commands of the army or forts of the nation, but such as would be beasts, and ridden upon by the proud chiefes. Disdaining, therefore, that what he had preserv'd for the liberty of his country, should be a curb upon them, and foreseeing that some of Cromwell's creatures would at length be put in, to exercise him with continuall affronts, and to hinder any man from standing up for the deliverance of the country, if the insolence of the army (which he too sadly foresaw) should put them upon it; for this reason, in Cromwell's absence, he procur'd an order for the remoove of the garrison at Nottingham, which was commanded by his kinsman Maior Poulton, into the marching army, and the demollishing of the place; which accordingly was speedily executed.

When Maior Poulton, who had all allong bene very faithfull and active in the cause, brought his men to the armie, he was entertain'd with such affronts and neglects by the generall, that he voluntarily quitted his command, and retir'd to the ruin'd place, where the castle was which he had bought with his arrears. * When Cromwell came back through

---

* The machinations of Cromwell are spoken of in general terms by Rapin, Whitelock, and others; but no where so well detailed as here. Of all things the most necessary to Cromwell was to obtain soldiers and subaltern officers perfectly subservient to his own purposes, but this he could hope to effect *then* and *then only*, when he had deprived them of such superior officers as would have preserved them from deception, and have kept them faithful to their country. The present and similar occurrences furnished him with the means so to do, which he employed most assiduously. Ludlow, vol. iii. p. 21. " And thus the troops of the parliament, who were not " raised out of the meanest of the people and without " distinction, as other armies had been; but consisted of " such as had engaged themselves from a spirit of liberty " in the defence of their rights and religion; were cor" rupted by him, kept as a standing force against the " people, taught to forget their first engagements, and " rendered as mercenary as other troops are accustomed " to be." From about this period, then, we may date the change of sentiment of the army in general, and of course



Balth: Flessiers pinxt.

Thomas Sanders de Ireton Com: Derb. Arm.
nec non Equitum Tribunus.

Pub.d by W. Richardson Castle Street Leicester Fields.

the country and saw the castle pull'd downe, he was heartily vext at it, and told Coll. Hutchinson, that if he had bene there, when it was voted, he should not have suffer'd it. The collonell replied, that he had procur'd it to be done, and believ'd it to be his duty to ease the people of charge, when there was no more need of it.

When Cromwell came to London, there wanted not some little creatures of his, in the house, who had taken notice of all that had bene say'd of him when he let the king slip by; how some stuck not in their feare and rage to call him traytor, and to threaten his head. These reports added spurres to his ambition, but that his sonne-in-law, Ireton, deputy of Ireland, would not be wrought to serve him, but hearing of his machinations, determin'd to come over to England to endeavour to divert him from such destructive courses. * But God cutt him short by death,

---

the change of opinion respecting them in the minds of Coll. Hutchinson and others who before had sided with them.

* If this intention of Ireton is mentioned by any other person, it has escaped the search of the editor, it may have been known *with certainty* by Mr. Hutchinson alone: but something of the kind seems to have been in the *contemplation* of Whitelock when he regrets his death, on ac-

and whether his body, or an empty coffin, was brought into England, something in his name came to London, and was to be, by Cromwell's procurement, magnificently buried among the kings at Westminster. Collonell Hutchinson was, after his brother, one of the neerest kinsmen he had, but Cromwell, who of late studied him neglects, past him by, and neither sent him mourning, nor particular invitation to the funerall, only the speaker gave publick notice in the house, that all the members were desired to attend him; and such was the flattery of many pittifull lords and other gentlemen, parasites, that they put

---

count of the influence he had over the mind of Cromwell, which has been remarked in a former note; as likewise the probability that the prolongation of his life might have made a great difference in the conduct of Cromwell. What is said of his funeral well agrees with what is stated by Ludlow, who adds, that "Ireton would have despised "these pomps, having erected for himself a more glori-"ous monument in the hearts of good men, by his affec-"tion to his country, his abilities of mind, his impartial "justice, his diligence in the public service, and his other "virtues, which were a far greater honour to his memory, "than a dormitory among the ashes of kings; who, for "the most part, as they had governed others by their "passions, so were they as much governed by them." For the rest, Coll. Hutchinson's reproof to Cromwell was a pithy one!

themselves into deepe mourning; but Coll. Hutchinson that day putt on a scarlett cloak, very richly laced, such as he usually wore, and comming into the roome where the members were, seeing some of the lords in mourning, he went to them to enquire the cause, who told him they had put it on to honor the generall; and askt again, why he, that was a kinsman, was in such a different colour? He told them, because the generall had neglected sending to him, when he had sent to many that had no alliance, only to make up the traine, he was resolv'd he would not flatter so much as to buy for himselfe, although he was a true mourner in his heart for his cousin, whom he had ever lov'd, and would therefore go and take his place among his mourners. This he did, and went into the roome where the close mourners were; who seeing him come in, as different from mourning as he could make himselfe, the alderman came to him, making a greate apologie that they mistooke and thought he was out of towne, and had much iniur'd themselves thereby, to whom it would have bene one of their greatest honors to have had his assistance in the befitting habitt, as now it was their shame to have neglected him. But Cromwell, who had order'd all things, was peek'd horribly att it, though he dissembled his resentment at that time, and ioyn'd in excusing the neglect; but he very well understood that the collonell neither out of ignorance nor niggardize came in that habitt, but publickely to reproach their neglects.

After the death of Ireton, Lambert was voted deputy of Ireland, and commander-in-chiefe there, who being at that time in the north, was exceedingly elevated with the honor, and courted all Fairfax his old commanders, and other gentlemen, who, upon his promises of preferrement, quitted their places, and many of them came to London and made him up there a very proud traine, which still exalted him, so that too soone he put on the prince, immediately laying out five thousand pounds for his owne particular equipage, and looking upon all the parliament men, who had conferr'd this honour on him, as underlings, and scarce worth the greate man's nod. This untimely declaration of his pride gave greate offence to the parliament, who having only given him a commission for six months for his deputyship, made a vote that, after the expiration of that time, the presidency of the civil and military power of that nation should no more be in his nor in any one man's hands againe. This vote was upon Cromwell's procurement, who hereby design'd to make way for his new sonne-in-law, Coll. Fleetewood, who had married the widdow of the late deputy Ireton. There went a story that as my lady Ireton was walking in St. James's Park, the lady Lambert, as proud as her husband, came by where she was, and as the present princesse alwayes hath precedency of the relict of the dead prince, so she put my lady Ireton below; who, notwithstanding her piety and humility, was a little griev'd att the affront. Coll. Fleetewood being then present, in mourning for his wife, who died at the same time her lord did, tooke occasion to introduce himselfe, and was immediately accepted by the lady and her father, who design'd thus to restore his daughter to the honor she was fallen from. His plott tooke as himselfe could wish, for Lambert, who saw himselfe thus cutt off from halfe his exaltation, sent the house an insolent message, " that if they found him so " unworthy of the honor they had given him " as so soone to repent it, he would not re- " tard their remedie for six months, but was " ready to surrender their commission before " he enter'd into his office." They tooke him att his worde, and made Fleetewood deputy, and Ludlow commander of the horse; whereupon Lambert, with a heart full of spite, mallice, and revenge, retreated to his pallace at Wimbledon, and sate there watching an oppertunity to destroy the parliament.

Cromwell, allthough he chiefely wrought this businesse in the house, yett flatter'd with Lambert, and, having another reach of ambition in his brest, helpt to enflame Lambert against those of the parliament who were not his creatures, and to cast the odium of his disgrace upon them, and professe his owne clearnesse in it, and pitty of him, that should be drawne into such an inconvenience as the charge of putting himselfe into equipage, and the loss of all that provision; which Cromwell, pretending generosity, tooke all upon his owne account, and deliver'd him of the debt. Lambert dissembled againe on his part, and insinuated himself into Cromwell, fomenting his ambition to take the administration of all the conquer'd nations into his owne hands; but finding themselves not strong enough alone, they tooke to them Maior-generall Harrison, who had a greate interest both in the armie and the churches; and these, pretending a pious trouble that there were such delayes in the administration of iustice, and such perverting of right, endeavour'd to bring all good men into dislike of the parliament, pretending that they would perpetuate themselves in their honors and offices, and had no care to bring in those glorious things, for which they had so many yeares contended in blood and toyle. The parliament, on the other side, had now, by the blessing of God, restor'd the commonwealth to such a happie, rich, and plentifull condition, as it was not so flourishing before the warre, and allthough the taxes that were pay'd were greate, yet the people were rich and able to pay them: they (*the parliament*) were in a way of paying all the souldiers' arrears, had some hundred thousand pounds in their purses, and were free from enemies in armes within and without, except the Dutch, whom they had beaten and brought to seeke peace upon honorable termes to the English: and now they thought it was time to sweeten the people, and deliver them from their burthens. This could not be but by disbanding the unnecessary officers and souldiers, and when things were thus settled, they had prepar'd a bill to put a period to their own sitting, and provide for new successors. But when the greate officers understood that they were to resigne their honors, and no more triumph in the burthens of the people, they easily induc'd the inferior officers and souldiers to sett up for themselves with them; and while these things were passing, Cromwell with an armed force, assisted by Lambert and Harrison, came into the house and dissolv'd the parliament, pulling out the members, foaming and raging, and calling them undeserved and base names; and when the speaker refused to come out of his chaire, Harrison pluckt him out. These gentlemen having done this, tooke to themselves the administration of all things, and a few slaves of the house consulted with them, and would have truckled under them, but not many. Meanwhile they and their souldiers could no way palliate their rebellion, but by making false criminations of the parliament men, as that they meant to perpetuate themselves in honor and office, that they had gotten vast estates, and perverted iustice for gaine, and were imposing upon men for conscience, and a thousand such like things, which time manifested to be false, and truth retorted all upon themselves that they had iniuriously cast at the others. *

---

* Almost all the historical writers who have treated of these times concur in depreciating this parliament, and represent them as a small number or junto whose principal view was to perpetuate themselves in the enjoyment of power and honours. Those readers who desire to form a true judgment of this matter will be materially assisted by comparing the passages here before them with White-

At that time that the parliament was broken up Coll. Hutchinson was in the country, where, since his going in his course out of the council of state, he had for about a yeare's

---

lock, and more particularly with the first twenty pages of the second volume of Ludlow; they will find that sort of consonance which is the best mark of truth, viz. the recital of different circumstances tending to establish one and the same principal fact. They will then be convinced that the great men who were in that time at the head of affairs had conducted them in a manner worthy of themselves, and had brought the nation to a state of prosperity which nothing less than a miracle can ever again bring it to, and which Mrs. Hutchinson describes in few and simple, but impressive words; *the people rich, the revenue great, debts paid, money in their purses, free from enemies within and without.* They had concluded with reforming the abuses of the law, and providing for their being succeeded by a fair and equal representation of the people, which all confess still to be the grand desideratum of our constitution. And it was the very circumstance of the act being on the anvil, ready to receive the finishing stroke, that obliged Cromwell to act with such precipitation as staggered his confederates.

From all which will arise these corollaries or deductions; that a state, however great, may be governed in a republican form, and every department properly filled and administered. But that no sufficient barrier has yet been found against a military chief, who has popularity, address, and ambition, to become the tyrant of it. And in the end recourse must be had to hereditary succession, from whence they at first departed.

time applied himselfe, when the parliament could dispense with his absence, to the administration of iustice in the country, and to the putting in execution of those wholesome laws and statutes of the land provided for the orderly regulation of the people. And it was wonderful how, in a short space, he reform'd severall abuses and customary neglects in that part of the country where he liv'd, which being a rich fruitefull vale, drew abundance of vagrant people to come and exercise the idle trade of wandering and begging; but he tooke such courses that there was very suddenly not a beggar left in the country, and all the poore in every towne so maintain'd and provided for, as they never were so liberally maintain'd and reliev'd before nor since. He procur'd unnecessary alehouses to be putt downe in all the townes, and if any one that he heard of suffer'd any disorder or debauchery in his house, he would not suffer him to brew any more. He was a little severe against drunkennesse, for which the drunkards, would sometimes raile att him; but so were all the children of darknesse convinc'd by his light, that they were in awe more of his vertue then his authority. In this time he had made himselfe a convenient house*, whereof he was the best ornament, and an example of virtue so prevailing, as metamor-

---

* Pained and disgusted as the mind of the reader must be with the tumults, anarchy, and crimes, it has witnessed,

---

how welcome is the contemplation of this ease and leisure, devoted to elegant studies, virtuous pursuits, useful occupations, gentleman-like amusements, rational converse, and conciliating hospitality! How difficult will it be to him to believe that this *otium cum dignitate* is the honourable retreat of one of those *gloomy Fanatics* whose tyranny Rapin says had become intolerable to the nation?

About thirty years ago it was the fate of the Editor to visit this mansion of his ancestors, in order to bring away a few pictures and some books, all that remained to him of those possessions, where they had lived with so much merited love and honour. Although he had not then read these memoirs, yet having heard Col. Hutchinson spoken of as an extraordinary person, and that he had built, planted, and formed, all that was to be seen there; the country adjoining being a dreary waste, many thousand acres together being entirely overrun with gorse or furze; he viewed the whole with the utmost attention. He found there a house, of which he has the drawing, large, handsome, lofty, and convenient, and though but little ornamented, possessing all the grace that size and symmetry could give it. The entrance was by a flight of handsome steps into a large hall, occupying entirely the centre of the house, lighted at the entrance by two large windows, but at the further end by one much larger, in the expanse of which was carried up a stair-case that seemed to be perfectly in the air. On one side of the hall was a long table, on the other a large fire-place; both suited to ancient hospitality. On the right-hand side of this hall were three handsome rooms for the entertainment of guests. The sides of the stair-case and gallery were hung with pictures, and both served as an orchestra either to the phos'd many evill people, while they were under his roofe, into another appearance of sobriety and holinesse.

---

hall or to a large room over part of it, which was a ball-room. To the left of the hall were the rooms commonly occupied by the family. All parts were built so substantially, and so well secured, that neither fire nor thieves could penetrate from room to room, nor from one flight of stairs to another, if ever so little resisted.

The house stood on a little eminence in the vale of Belvoir, at a small distance from the foot of those hills along which the Roman foss-way from Leicester runs. The western side of the house was covered by the offices, small village, and church, interspersed with many trees. The south, which was the front of entrance, looked over a large extent of grass-grounds which were the demesne, and were bounded by hills covered with wood which Col. Hutchinson had planted. On the eastern side, the entertaining rooms opened on to a terrace, which encircled a very large bowling-green or level lawn; next to this had been a flower-garden, and next to that a shrubbery, now become a wood, through which vistas were cut to let in a view of Langar, the seat of Lord Howe, at two miles, and of Belvoir-castle, at seven miles' distance, which, as the afternoon sun sat full upon it, made a glorious object: at the further end of this small wood was a spot (of about ten acres) which appeared to have been a morass, and through which ran a rivulet: this spot Col. Hutchinson had dug into a great number of canals, and planted the ground between them, leaving room for walks, so that the whole formed at once a wilderness or bower, reservoirs for fish, and a decoy for wild fowl. To the north, at some hundred yards' distance, was a lake of

He was going up to attend the businesse of

---

water, which filling the space between two quarters of woodland, appeared, as viewed from the large window of the hall, like a moderate river, and beyond this the eye rested on the wolds or high wilds which accompany the foss-way towards Newark. — The whole had been deserted near forty years, but resisted the ravages of time so well as to discover the masterly hand by which it had been planned and executed. But the most extraordinary and gratifying circumstance was the veneration for the family which still subsisted, and which, at the period when the last possessor had by his will ordered this and all his estates in Notts to be sold, and the produce given to *strangers,* induced the tenants to offer a large advance of their rents, and a good share of the money necessary for purchasing the estates, in order to enable the remains of the family to come and reside again among them. — It was too late! the steward had contracted with the executors, and resold the most desirable part, where the timber of Col. Hutchinson's planting was valued at many thousand pounds! The editor could only retire repeating Virgil's first Eclogue:

Nos patriæ fines, et dulcia linquimus arva.
Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?
Barbarus has segetes? En quo discordia cives
Perduxit miseros! en queis consevimus agros.

Round the wide world in banishment we roam,
Forc'd from our pleasing fields and native home:
Did we for these barbarians plant and sow,
On these, on these our happy fields bestow?
Good heav'ns! what dire effects from civil discord flow

DRYDEN.

his country above, when newes met him upon the roade, neere London, that Cromwell had broken the parliament. Notwithstanding he went on and found divers of the members there, resolv'd to submit to this providence of God, and to waite till he should cleare their integritie, and to disproove these people who had tax'd them of ambition, by sitting still, when they had friends enough in the armie, city, and country, to have disputed the matter, and probably vanquisht these usurpers. They thought that if they should vex the land by warre among themselves, the late subdued enemies, royallists and presbiterians, would have an oppertunity to prevaile on their dissensions, to the ruine of both: if these should govern well, and righteously, and moderately, they should enioy the benefitt of their good government, and not envy them the honorable toyle; if they did otherwise, they should be ready to assist and vindicate their opprest countrie, when the ungratefull people were made sensible of their true champions and protectors. Coll. Hutchinson, in his owne particular, was very glad of this release from that employment, which he manag'd with fidelity and uprightnesse, but not only without delight, but with a greate deale of trouble and expence, in the contest for truth and righteousnesse upon all occasions.

The only recreation he had during his residence at London was in seeking out all the rare artists he could heare of, and in considering their workes in payntings, sculptures, gravings, and all other such curiosities, insomuch that he became a greate virtuoso and patrone of ingenuity. Being loath that the land should be disfurnisht of all the rarities that were in it, whereof many were sett to sale in the king's and divers noblemen's collections, he lay'd out about two thousand pounds in the choycest pieces of painting, most of which were bought out of the king's goods, which were given to his servants to pay their wages: to them the collonell gave ready money, and bought so good penniewoorths, that they were vallued much more worth then they cost. * These he brought

---

* That the conduct of Col. Hutchinson differed from that of most other men in power at that time, and brought a seasonable relief to the king's servants and creditors, appears from two passages in the History of Independency, p. 146. and 184. "The king's servants and creditors starve for want of their own, while the members "appropriate his furniture to their own use instead of "selling it to pay debts." "The king's servants and creditors may gape long enough before they sell the king's "goods to pay debts."

down into the country, intending a very neat cabinett for them; and these, with the surveying of his buildings, and emprooving by enclosure the place he liv'd in, employ'd him att home, and, for a little time, hawkes abroad: but when a very sober fellow, that never was guilty of the usuall vices of that generation of men, rage and swearing, died, he gave over his hawkes, and pleas'd himselfe with musick, and againe fell to the practice of his violl, on which he play'd excellently well, and entertaining tutors for the diversion and education of his children in all sorts of musick, he pleas'd himselfe in these innocent recreations during Oliver's mutuable reigne. As he had greate delight, so he had greate iudgment, in musick, and advanc'd his children's practise more then their tutors: he also was a greate supervisor of their learning, and indeed himselfe a tutor to them all, besides all those tutors which he liberally entertain'd in his house for them. He spared not any cost for the education of both his sons and daughters in languages, sciences, musick, dancing, and all other quallities befitting their father's house. He was himselfe their instructor in humillity, sobrietie, and all godlinesse and vertue, which he rather strove to make them exercise with love and delight then by constraint. As other things were his delight, this only he made his businesse, to attend the education of his children, and the government of his owne house and towne. This he perform'd so well that never was any man more fear'd and loved then he by all his domesticks, tenants, and hired workmen. He was loved with such a feare and reverence as restrein'd all rude familliarity and insolent presumptions in those who were under him, and he was fear'd with so much love that they all delighted to do his pleasure.

As he maintain'd his authority in all relations, so he endeavour'd to make their subiection pleasant to them, and rather to convince them by reason then compell them to obedience, and would decline even to the lowest of his famely to make them enioy their lives in sober cheerfullnesse, and not find their duties burthensome.

As for the publick businesse of the country, he could not act in any office under the protector's power, and therefore confin'd himselfe to his owne, which the whole country about him were griev'd at, and would rather come to him for councell as a private neighbour then to any of the men in power for greater helpe.

He now being reduc'd into an absolute private condition, was very much courted and visited by all of all parties, and, while the grand quarrell slept, and both the victors and vanquish'd were equall slaves under the new usurpers, there was a very kind correspondence betweene him and all his countriemen. As he was very hospitable, and his conversation no lesse desirable and pleasant, then instructive and advantageous, his house was much resorted to, and as kindly open to those who had in publick contests bene his enemies, as to his continued friends; for there never lived a man that had lesse mallice and revenge, nor more reconcileablenesse and kindnesse and generosity in his nature, then he.

In the interim Cromwell and his armie grew wanton with their power, and invented a thousand tricks of government, which, when nobody oppos'd, they themselves fell to dislike and vary every day. First he calls a parliament out of his owne pockett, himselfe naming a sort of godly men for every county, who meeting and not agreeing, a part of them, in the name of the people, give up the sovereignty to him. Shortly after he makes up severall sorts of mock parliaments, but not finding one of them absolutely for his turne, turn'd them off againe. He soone quitted himselfe of his triumvirs, and first thrust out Harrison, then tooke away Lambert's commission, and would have bene king but for feare of quitting his generallship. He weeded, in a few months time, above a hundred and fifty godly officers out of the armie, with whom many of the religious souldiers went off, and in their roome abundance of the king's dissolute souldiers were entertain'd, and the armie was almost chang'd from that godly religious armie, whose vallour God had crown'd with triumph, into the dissolute armie they had beaten, bearing yett a better name. His wife and children were setting up for principallity, which suited no better with any of them then scarlett on the ape; only to speak the truth of himselfe, he had much naturall greatnesse, and well became the place he had usurp'd. His daughter Fleetewood was humbled, and not exalted with these things, but the rest were insolent fooles. Cleypoole, who married his daughter, and his son Henry, were two debauch'd ungodly cavaliers. Richard was a peasant in his nature, yet gentle and virtuous, but became not greatnesse. His court was full of sinne and vanity, and the more abominable, because they had not yett quite cast away the name of God, but prophan'd it by taking it in vaine upon them.

True religion was now almost lost, even among the religious party, and hipocrisie became an epidemicall disease, to the sad griefe of Coll. Hutchinson, and all true-hearted Christians and Englishmen. Allmost all the ministers every where fell in and worshipt this beast, and courted and made addresses to him. So did the city of London, and many of the degenerate lords of the land, with the poore-spirited gentry. The cavaliers, in pollicy, who saw that while Cromwell reduc'd all the exercise of tirannicall power under another name, there was a doore open'd for the restoring of their party, fell much in with Cromwell, and heighten'd all his disorders. He at last exercis'd such an arbitrary power that the whole land grew weary of him, while he set up a companie of silly meane fellows, call'd maior-generalls, as governors in every country. These rul'd according to their wills, by no law but what seem'd good in their owne eies, imprisoning men, obstructing the course of iustice betweene man and man, perverting right through partiallity, acquitting some that were guilty, and punishing some that were innocent as guilty. Then he exercis'd another proiect to rayse mony, by decimation of the estates of all the king's party, of which actions 'tis said Lambert was the instigator. At last he tooke upon him to make lords and knights, and wanted not many fooles, both of the armie and gentry, to accept of and strutt in his mock titles.* Then the Earle of Warwick's grandchild and the Lord Falconbridge married his two daughters; such pittifull slaves were the nobles of those dayes. Att last Lambert, perceiving himselfe to have bene all this while deluded with hopes and promises of succession, and seeing that Cromwell now intended to confirme the government in his owne famely, fell off from him, but behav'd himselfe very pittifully and meanly, was turned out of all his places, and return'd againe to plott new vengeance at his house at Wimbleton, where he fell to dresse his flowers in his garden, and worke at the needle with his wife and his maides, while he was watching an oppertunity to serve againe his ambition, which had this difference from the protector's; the one was gallant and greate, the other had nothing but an unworthy pride, most insolent in prosperity, and as abiect and base in adversity.*

---

* The description given of the usurpation of Cromwell and his myrmidons, concise and contemptuous as it is, will be found perfectly just. With all his professions he did little else but deteriorate that state of things in which the parliament had left them: he patched up a much worse peace with the Dutch than the parliament would have made: to gratify or serve his personal views he assisted the French against the Spaniards, and for ever weakened that power which would now have supported this nation against so dangerous a neighbour. Ireland he depopulated by encouraging the cavalier chiefs to emigrate with their adherents into foreign services. At home he rendered the very names of religion and liberty contemptible, and paved the way for the return of the Stuarts. Mrs. Hutchinson mentions nothing of a circumstance which perhaps she did not know, or, if she did, passed it over as beneath notice: the following letter shows the nature of it.

Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 299., Major-general Whalley writes to the protector: "For the town of Not-" tingham, I have a great influence upon it; they will "not choose any without my advice. The honest part "of the county have of late, which I much wonder at, "nominated Col. Hutchinson to me, as not knowing bet-" ter to pitch to make up the fourth man, he having satis-" fied some of them concerning his judgment of the pre-" sent government; but I hope what I have hinted to "them will cause them to think upon some other."

The cavaliers, seeing their victors thus beyond their hopes falling into their hands, had not patience to stay till things ripen'd of themselves, but were every day forming designes, and plotting for the murder of Cromwell, and other insurrections, which being contriv'd in drinke, and manag'd by false and cowardly fellows, were still reveal'd to Cromwell, who had most excellent intelligence of all things that past, even in the king's closett; and by these unsuccessfull plotts they were the only obstructors of what they sought to advance, while, to speake truth, Cromwell's personall courage and magnanimity upheld him against all enemies and malcontents. His owne armie dislik'd him, and once when sevenscore officers had combin'd to crosse him in something he was persuing, and engag'd one to another, Lambert being the chiefe, with solemne promises and invocations to God, the protector hearing of it, overaw'd them all, and told them, "it was not they who upheld him, but "he them," and rated them, and made them understand what pittifull fellows they were; whereupon they all, like rated dogs, clapp'd their tayles betweene their leggs, and begg'd his pardon, and left Lambert to fall alone, none daring to owne him publickly, though many in their hearts wisht him the sovereignty. Some of the Lambertonians had at that time a plott to come with a petition to Cromwell, and, while he was reading it, certeine of them had undertaken to cast him out of a windore at Whitehall that lookt upon the Thames, where others should be ready to catch him up in a blankett, if he scap'd breaking his neck, and carrie him away in a boate prepar'd for the purpose to kill or keepe him alive, as they saw occasion, and then sett up Lambert. This was so carried on that it was neere the execution before the protector knew aniething of it. Coll. Hutchinson being at that time at London, by chance came to know all the plott; certeine of the conspirators coming into a place where he was, and not being so cautious of their whispers to each other before him, but that he apprehended something, which making use of to others of the confederates, he at last found out the whole matter, without being committed to him as a matter of trust, but carelessly throwne downe in pieces before him, which he gather'd together, and became perfectly acquainted with the whole designe; and weighing it, and iudging that Lambert would be the worse tirant of the two, he determin'd to prevent it, without being the author of any man's punishment. Hereupon having occasion to see Fleetwood, (for he had never seene the protector since his usurpation, but publickly declar'd his testimony against it to all the tirant's minions,) he bade Fleetwood wish him to have a care of petitioners, by whom he apprehended danger to his life. Fleetwood desir'd a more particular information, but the collonell was resolv'd he would give him no more then to prevent that enterprize which he dislik'd. For indeed those who were deepely engag'd, rather waited to see the cavaliers in arms against him, and then thought it the best time to arme for their owne defence, and either make a new conquest, or fall with swords in their hands. Therefore they all conniv'd at the cavaliers attempts, and although they ioyn'd not with them, would not have been sorrie to have seene them up upon equal termes with the protector, that then a third party, which was ready both with arms and men, when there was oppertunity, might have fallen in and capitulated with swords in their hands, for the settlement of the rights and liberties of the good people: but God had otherwise determin'd of things; and now men began so to flatter with this tirant, so to apostatize from all faith, honesty, religion, and English liberty, and there was such a devillish practise of trepanning growne in fashion, that it was not safe to speake to any man in those treacherous dayes.

---

* A life of Lambert has been very obligingly put into the hands of the editor, together with some other scarce tracts relating to those times by Mr. White, jun., of Lincoln's Inn, who had collected them in the north of England, where Lambert resided. He seems to have enjoyed a better reputation among his countrymen; his horticulture is therein much spoken of, and he is said to have *painted* flowers, not to have *embroidered* them.

After Coll. Hutchinson had given Fleetwood that caution, he was going into the country, when the protector sent to search him out with all the earnestnesse and haste that could possibly be, and the collonell went to him; who mett him in one of the galleries, and receiv'd him with open armes and the kindest embraces that could be given, and complain'd that the collonell should be so unkind as never to give him a visitt, professing how wellcome he should have bene, the most wellcome person in the land, and with these smooth insinuations led him allong to a private place, giving him thanks for the advertisement he had receiv'd from Fleetwood, and using all his art to gett out of the collonell the knowledge of the persons engag'd in the conspiracy against him. But none of his cunning, nor promises, nor flatteries, could prevaile with the collonell to informe him more then he thought necessary to prevent the execution of the designe, which when the protector perceiv'd, he gave him most infinite thankes for what he had told him, and acknowledg'd it open'd to him some misteries that had perplext him, and agreed so with other intelligence he had, that he must owe his preservation to him: "But," says he, "deare collonell, why will not you come in "and act among us?" The collonell told him plainly, because he liked not any of his wayes since he broke the parliament, as being those which led to certeine and unavoidable destruction, not only of themselves, but of the whole parliament party and cause, and thereupon tooke occasion, with his usuall freedom, to tell him into what a sad hazard all things were put, and how apparent a way was made for the restitution of all former tiranny and bondage. Cromwell seem'd to receive this honest plainnesse with the greatest affection that could be, and acknowledg'd his precipitateness in some things, and with teares complain'd how Lambert had put him upon all those violent actions, for which he now accus'd him and sought his ruine. He expresst an earnest desire to restore the people's liberties, and to take and pursue more safe and sober councells, and wound up all with a very faire courtship of the collonell to engage with him, offering him any thing he would account worthy of him. The collonell told him, he could not be forward to make his owne advantage, by serving to the enslaving of his country. The other told him, he intended nothing more then the restoring and confirming the liberties of the good people, in order to which he would employ such men of honor and interest as the people should rejoyce, and he should not refuse to be one of them. And after, with all his arts, he had endeavour'd to excuse his publique actions, and to draw in the collonell; who againe had taken the opertunity to tell him freely his owne and all good men's discontents and dissatisfactions; he dismist the collonell with such expressions as were publickly taken notice of by all his little courtiers then about him, when he went to the end of the gallery with the collonell, and there, embracing him, sayd allowd to him, "Well, collonell, satisfied "or dissatisfied, you shall be one of us, for we "can no longer exempt a person so able and "faithfull from the publique service, and you "shall be satisfied in all honest things." The collonell left him with that respect that became the place he was in; when immediately the same courtiers, who had some of them past him by without knowing him when he came in, although they had bene once of his familiar acquaintance, and the rest who had look'd upon him with such disdainfull neglect as those little people use to those who are not of their faction, now flockt about him, striving who should expresse most respect, and, by an extraordinary officiousnesse, redeeme their late slightings. Some of them desir'd he would command their service in any businesse he had with their lord, and a thousand such frivolous compliments, which the collonell smiled att, and quitting himselfe of them as soone as he could, made hast to returne into the country. There he had not long bene but that he was inform'd, notwithstanding all these faire shewes, the protector finding him too constant to be wrought upon to serve his tirannie, had resolv'd to secure his person, least he should head the people, who now grew very weary of his bondage. But though it was certainly confirm'd to the collonell how much he was afraid of his honesty and freedome, and that he was resolv'd not to let him longer be att liberty, yet, before his guards apprehended the collonell, death imprison'd himselfe, and confin'd all his vast ambition and all his cruell designes into the narrow compasse of a grave. His armie and court substituted his eldest sonne, Richard, in his roome, who was a meeke, temperate, and quiett man, but had not a spiritt fit to succeed his father, or to manage such a perplexed government.

The people being vexed with the pockett-parliaments, and the maior-generalls of the counties, like bashaws, were now all muttering to have a free parliament, after the old manner of elections, without engaging those that were chosen to any terms. Those at Richard's court, that knew his father's councells to prevent Coll. Hutchinson from being chosen in his owne country, councell'd Richard to pricke him for sheriffe of the county of

Nottingham, which assoone as he understood, he writt him a letter, declaring his resentment in such a civill manner as became the person. Richard return'd a very obliging answer, denying any intention in himselfe to shew the least disfavour to him for former dissents, but rather a desire to engage his kindnesse. And soone after, when the collonell went himselfe to London and went to the young protector, he told him, that since God had call'd him to the government, it was his desire to make men of uprightnesse and interest his associates, to rule by their councells and assistance, and not to enslave the nation to an armie; and that if by them he had bene putt upon any thing preiudiciall or disoblieging to the collonell in pricking him for sheriffe, he should endeavour to take it of, or to serve him any other way, assoone as he had disentangled himselfe from the officers of the armie, who att present constrein'd him in many things, and therefore if the collonell would please, without unkindnesse, to exercise this office, he should receive it as an obligation, and seek one more acceptable to him after. The collonell seeing him herein good-natur'd enough, was persuaded by a very wise friend of his to take it upon him, and return'd well enough satisfied with the courteous usage of the protector. This gentleman who had thus councell'd the collonell, was as considerable and as wise a person as any was in England, who did not openly appeare among Richard's adherents or councellors, but privately advis'd him, and had a very honorable designe of bringing the nation into freedome under this young man; who was so flexible to good councells, that there was nothing desirable in a prince which might not have been hoped in him, but a greate spiritt and a iust title: the first of which sometimes doth more hurt then good in a soveraigne; the latter would have bene supplied by the people's deserved approbation. This person was very free to impart to the collonell all the designe of settling the state under this single person, and the hopes of felicity in such an establishment. The collonell debating this with him, told him, that if ever it were once fixt in a single person, and the army taken off, which could not consist with the liberty of the people, it could not be prevented from returning to the late eiected family; and that on whatever termes they return'd, it was folly to hope the people's cause, which, with such blood and expence, had bene asserted, should not utterly be overthrowne. To this the gentleman gave many strong reasons, why that family could not be restor'd, without the ruine of the people's liberty and of all their champions, and thought that these carried so much force with them, that it would never be attempted, even by any royallist that retein'd any love to his country, and that the establishing this single person would satisfie that faction, and compose all the differences, bringing in all of all parties that were men of interest and love to their country. Although the businesse was very speciously lay'd, and the man such a one whose authority was sufficient to sway in any state, the collonell was not much opiniated of the things he propounded, but willing to waite the event; being in himselfe more perswaded that the people's freedome would be best maintain'd in a free republick, deliver'd from the shackles of their encroaching slaves the army. * This

---

* The mention of this political discussion without the name of the principal speaker in it, naturally awakens curiosity and excites to conjecture. The judicious writer of the critique on this work in the Annual Review, combines this with a passage at p. 287., and supposes the secret there referred to, and which endeavours were in vain used to draw from Mrs. Hutchinson, to be the same thing as is here hinted at: it is highly probable that it is so; and as no evil could now result from a discovery, the editor has taken pains to effect one, he believes with success — though when the grounds of his conjecture are laid before the reader, he will judge for himself.

was now not mutter'd but openly asserted by all but the army: although of those who contended for it, there were two sorts; some that really thought it the most conducible to the people's good and freedome; others that, by this pretence, hoped to pull downe the army and the protectorian faction, and then restore the old famely. It is believ'd that Richard himselfe was compounded with, to have resign'd the place that was too greate for him; certeine it is that his poore spiritt was likely enough to doe any such thing. The army perceiving they had sett up a wretch who durst not reigne, that there was a convention mett, by their owne assent, who were ready, with a seeming face of authority of parliament, to restore the Stewarts, were greatly distrest; finding alsoe that the whole nation was bent against them, and would not beare their yoake; having therefore no refuge to save them from being torne in pieces by the people, and to deliver them from their owne puppitts who had sold and betray'd them, they found out some of the members of that glorious parliament which they had violently driven from their seates with a thousand slanderous criminations and untrue. To these they counterfeited repentance, and that God had open'd their eies to see into what a manifest hazard of ruine they had put the interest and people of God in these nations, so that it was almost irrecoverable, but if any hope were left, it was that God would sign it with his wonted favour, in those hands, out of which they had iniuriously taken it. Hereupon they open'd the house doores for them; and the speaker, with some few members, as many as made a house, were too hasty to return into their seates, upon capitulation with those traytors, who had brought the commonwealth into such a sad confusion. But after they were mett, they immediately sent summons to all the members throughout all England, among whom the collonell was call'd up*, and much perplexed, for now he thought his conscience, life, and fortunes againe engaged with men of mixed and different interests and principles; yet in regard of the trust formerly repos'd in him, he return'd into his place, infinitely dissatisfied that any condescension had bene made to the armies proposalls, whose necessity rather then honesty had moov'd them to counterfeit repentance and ingenuity. This they did by a publick declaration, how they had been seduc'd, and done wickedly in interrupting the parliament, and that God had never since that time own'd them and their councells as before, and that they desir'd to humble themselves before God and man for the same, and to returne to their dutie in defending the parliament in the discharge of their remaining trust. According to this declaration, the armie kept a day of solemne humiliation before the Lord; yet all this, as the event after manifested, in hypocrisie *.

---

* By this passage, that error which has become general, and which is to be found in Rapin, vol. ii. p. 605, is rendered palpable. He says they met in parliament to the number of forty-two: and again, p. 607, calls it a parliament of forty persons, but takes no notice of their sending summonses to all the members throughout England; but in the addition or suppression of this circumstance lies the total difference between truth and falsehood. Ludlow, who was one of them, says, vol. ii. p. 645, "That they amounted to a hundred and sixty, who "had sat in the house since the seclusion of members in "1648."

Now the parliament were sate, and no sooner assembled but invaded by severall enemies. The presbiterians had long since espoused the royall interest, and forsaken God and the people's cause, when they could not obteine the reines of government in their owne hands, and

---

* There are copies of this declaration extant, signed by Lambert, Fleetwood, &c. one particularly in the hands of John Towneley, Esq. as likewise pamphlets written at that time, calling on the army to make the only amends they could to the nation, by restoring the parliament.

exercise dominion over all their brethren.* It was treason by the law of those men in power, to talk of restoring the king; therefore the presbiterians must face the designe, and accordingly all the members eiected in 1648, now came to claime their seates in the house, whom Coll. Pride, that then guarded the parliament, turn'd back, and thereupon there was some heate in the lobbie between them and the other members. Particularly Sr. George Booth utter'd some threats, and immediately they went into their severall counties, and had laid a designe all over England, wherein all the royallists were engag'd and many of the old parliament officers; and this was so dexterously, secretly, and unanimously carried on, that before the parliament had the least intimation of it, the flame was everywhere kindled, and small parties attempting insurrections in all places; but their maine strength was with Sr. George Booth in Chesire, who there appear'd the chiefe head of the rebellion. The citie, at that time, were very wavering and false to the parliament, yett the usuall presence of God, that was with them in former times, never appear'd so eminent as now, miraculously bringing to light all the plotts against them, and scattering their enemies before the wind, making them flie when there was none to pursue them: although even in the parliament house there wanted not many close traytors and abettors of this conspiracy. It was presently voted to send an armie downe into Cheshire: but then it fell into debate who should lead. Fleetewood, upon the desposing his brother Richard (wherein he was most unworthily assistant), was made generall, but not thought a person of courage enough for this enterprize, whereupon many of Lambert's friends propounded him to the house, and undertooke for his integrity and hearty repentance for having bene formerly assistant to the protector. Coll. Hutchinson was utterly against receiving him againe into employment; but it was the generall vote of the house, and accordingly he was brought in to receive his commission from the speaker; who intending to accept an humble submission, he then falsely made, with high professions of fidelitie, and to returne him an encouragement, in declaring the confidence the house had in him, through mistake, made such a speech to him, as after prov'd a true prophesie of his perfidiousnesse. Many of the house tooke notice of it then only to laugh, but afterward thought some hidden impulse, the man was not sensible of, led his tongue into those mistakes. However Lambert went forth, and through the cowardize of the enemie obtein'd a very cheape victory, and returned. In Nottinghamshire Coll. White rose, only to shew his apostacy, and runne away. The Lord Biron alsoe lost himselfe and his companions in the forrest, being chac'd by a piece of the county troope. And Mr. Robert Pierrepont, the sonne of the late collonell, went out to make up the route, and runne away, and cast away some good arms into the bushes, to make his flight more easie.

---

* Rapin, in a parallel passage, vol. ii. p. 611, says, that "the presbyterians, seeing no hopes of recovering the "ground they had lost, agreed with the king's party to "deliver the nation from the servitude to which it was "reduced by an independent parliament, and an army "whose officers were mostly fanaticks. The particulars "and terms of this union are not known, because the "historians who speak of it, being all royalists, have not "thought fit to do so much honour to the presbyterians. "But it cannot be concealed, that from this time they not "only ceased to be the king's enemies, but very much "promoted his restoration." Behold the honour he asks for them granted by their greatest enemy, an independent!—As was their motive such was their reward; beginning in rage and folly, they ended in disgrace and ruin.

During the late protector's time Coll. Hutchinson, who thought them greater usurpers on the people's liberties then the former kings, believ'd himselfe wholly disengag'd from all ties, but those which God and nature, or rather God by nature oblieges every man of honor and honesty in to his country, which is to defend or relieve it from invading tirants, as farre as he may by a lawfull call and meanes, and to suffer patiently that yoke which God submits him to, till the Lord shall take it of; and upon these principles, he seeing that authority, to which he was in duty bound, so seemingly taken quite away, thought he was free to fall in or oppose all things, as prudence should guide him, upon generall rules of conscience. These would not permitt him any way to assist any tirant or invader of the people's rights, nor to rise up against them without a manifest call from God; therefore he staid at home and busied himselfe in his owne domestick employments, and having a very liberall heart, had a house open to all worthy persons of all parties. Among these the Lord Biron, who thought that no gentleman ought to be unprovided of armes, in such an uncerteine time, had provided himself a trunck of pistolls, which were brought downe from London: but some suspition of it, being enter'd in the protector's officers, he durst not fetch the trunke from the carrier's himselfe, but entreated the collonell to send for them to his house, and secure them there. This the collonell did, but afterward when my Lord Biron had enter'd into conspiracy with the enemies of the parliament, he knew that Coll. Hutchinson was not to be attempted against them, and was in greate care how to gett his armes out of the collonell's house. The collonell being of a very compassionate and charitable nature, had entertain'd into his service, some poore people, who on the enemies side had bene ruin'd, and were reduc'd from good estates to seeke that refuge; and who counterfeited, so long as their party was downe, such sobriety, love and gratitude, and sence of their sins and miscarriages on the other side, that he hoped they had bene converts, but could not believe they would have proov'd such detestable, unthankfull traytors, as afterwards they did. Among these, Lord Biron corrupted a gentleman who waited then on the collonell, as the man after alledg'd; my lord say'd he offer'd himselfe: however it were, the plott was lay'd that fifty men, neere the collonell's house, should be rays'd for him, and he with them should first come to the collonell's house, and take away my lord's arms, with all the rest of the collonell's that they could find. To rayse him these men, certeine neighbours, who us'd to come to the house, were very busie, and especially two parsons, he of Plumtre, and he of Bingham; this had an active, proud, pragmaticall curate, who used to come to this traytor in the collonell's house, and help to manage the treason, and the chaplaine, the waiting woman, and two servants more, were drawn into the confederacy. The collonell was then at the parliament house, and only his wife and children at home, when, the night before the insurrection, Ivie (that was the gentleman's name) came to a singing boy who kept the collonell's clothes, and commanded him to deliver him the collonell's owne arms and buffe coate.

The boy was fearfull and did not readily obey him, whereupon he threatened immediately to pistoll him, if he made the least resistance, or discovery of the businesse; so the boy fetcht him the arms, and he put them on, and tooke one of the best horses and went out at midnight, telling the boy, he was a foole to feare, for the next night, before that time, there would come fifty men to fetch away all the arms in the house.

Assoone as the boy saw him quite gone, his mistresse being then in bed, he went to the chaplaine and acquainted him; but the chaplaine curs'd him for breaking his sleepe: then he went to the waiting gentlewoman, but she say'd she thought it would be unfitt to disturbe her mistresse: so the boy rested till next day, when Ivie, having fail'd of his men, was come back againe. Then the boy, finding an oppertunity after dinner, told his mistresse, that though he had bene bred a cavalier, he abhorr'd to betrey or be unfaithfull to those he serv'd; and that he had reason to suspect there was some vile conspiracy in hand, wherein Ivie was engag'd against them, and told his grounds. When Mrs. Hutchinson had heard that, she bade him keepe it private, and call'd immediately a servant that had bene a cornett of the parliament's party, and bade him goe to the county troope's captaine, and desire him to send her a guard for her husband's house, for she had intelligence that the cavaliers intended some attempt against it. Mrs. Hutchinson, asham'd to complayne of her owne famely, thought of this way of security, till she could discharge herselfe of the traytor, not knowing at that time how many more were about her. Then calling her gentlewoman, whom she thought she might trust, upon her solemne protestations of fidellity, she tooke her to assist her in hiding her plate and iewells, and what she had of value, and scrupled not to let her see the *secrett places in her house*, while the false and base dissembler went smiling up and downe at her mistresses simplicity. Meane time the man that was sent for souldiers, came back, bringing newes that the cavaliers had risen and were beaten, and the county troope was in pursuite of them. Then alsoe the coachman, who finding himselfe not well, had borrow'd a horse to goe to Nottingham to be let blood, came home, bringing with him a cravatt and other spoyles of the enemie, which he had gotten. For when he came to the towne, hearing the cavaliers were up, he gott a case of pistolls, and thought more of shedding than loosing blood, and meeting the cavaliers in the rout, 'tis say'd, he kill'd one of them: although this rogue had engag'd to Ivie to have gone on the other side with him. Mrs Hutchinson not being willing, for all this, to take such notice of Ivie's treason as to cast him into prison, tooke him immediately to London with her, and say'd nothing till he came there. Then she told him how base and treacherous he had bene; but to save her owne shame for having entertain'd so false a person, and for her mother's sake whom he had formerly serv'd, she was willing to dismisse him privately, without acquainting the collonell, who could not know but he must punish him. So she gave him something and turn'd him away, and told her husband she came only to acquaint him with the insurrection, and her owne feares of staying in the country without him. He being very indulgent, went immediately back with her, having inform'd the parliament, and receiv'd their order for going downe to looke after the securing of the country. His wife, as soone as she came downe, having learnt that the chaplaine had bene Ivie's confederate, told him privately of it, and desir'd him to find a pretence to take his leave of the collonell, that she might not be necessitated to complaine, and procure him the punishment his treason deserv'd. He went away thus, but so farre from being wrought upon, that he hated her to the death for her kindnesse.

The collonell having sett things in order in the country, had an intent to have carried his famely that winter with him to London; when iust that weeke he was going, news was brought that Lambert had once more turn'd out the parliament, and the collonell reioyc'd in his good fortune that he was not present.

Lambert was exceedingly pufft up with his cheape victory, and caiol'd his souldiers, and, before he return'd to London, sett on foote among them their old insolent way of prescribing to the parliament by way of petition.

The parliament, after the submission of the armie, had voted that there should no more be a generall over them, but to keepe that power in their owne hands, that all the officers should take their commissions immediately from the speaker.* The conspiracy of the armie, to gett a leader in their rebellion, was layd, that they should petition for generalls and such like things as might facilitate their intents. Among others that were taken in arms against the parliament Lord Castleton was one of the chiefe heads of the insurrection. Him Lambert brought along with him in his coach, not now as a prisoner, but unguarded, as one that was to be honour'd. The parliament hearing of this, sent and fetcht him out of his company and committed him to prison, and then the army's sawcy petition was deliver'd, and, upon the insolent carriage of nine collonells, they were by vote disbanded. Lambert being one of them, came in a hostile manner and pluckt the members out of the house; Fleetewood, whom they trusted to guard them, having confederated with Lambert and betrey'd them. After that, setting up their armie court at Wallingford-house, they begun their arbitrary reigne, to the ioy of all the vanquisht enemies of the parliament, and to the amazement and terror of all men that had any honest interest: and now were they all devizing governments; and some honorable members, I know not through what fatallity of the times, fell in with them.* When Coll. Hutchinson came into the country some time before Lambert's revolt, Mr.

---

* It was a great oversight that they had not taken this course from the beginning: for although it is very difficult for a republic, which has need of considerable armies, to maintain its independence, which is for ever liable to be invaded by those who have the sword in their hands, yet the best chance it has lies in keeping the military under the direction of the civil power. This method succeeded a good while with the French republic, and might have done still longer, if some of the members of the executive power had not leagued with some of the military commanders.

---

* This was that committee of safety, or council of *Stratocracy*, among the principal members of which were Sir Henry Vane, Ludlow, and Whitelock, as mentioned by Whitelock, p. 685. He there says that he took his share in it reluctantly, and that all three were censured for it by the parliament at their return. Ludlow was accused of treason; Vane made an ingenious excuse, but was banished to one of his country seats. Col. Hutchinson evidently divided from Sir H. Vane on this occasion, and, as Ludlow says, urged on the censure against him, which he considers as inconsistent with Col. Hutchinson's judgment passed on the king, and as a proof of his treachery and underhand agreement with Monk. But no conclusion can be more unwarranted than this: it was Col. Hutchinson's anxiety to keep the king out, or at least to prevent his coming in with a high hand and without limitation, that caused him so strenuously to oppose these rash steps; which made all wish for the king's return, to deliver them from greater evils.

Robert Pierrepont, the sonne of the late Coll. Francis Pierrepont, sent friends to entreate the collonell to receive him into his protection. Upon the entreaty of his uncles he tooke him into his owne house, and entertain'd him civilly there, whilst he writt to the speaker, urging his youth, his surrender of himselfe, and all he could in favour of him, desiring to know how they would please to dispose of him. Before the letters were answer'd Lambert had broken the parliament, and the collonell told him he was free againe to doe what he pleas'd; but the young gentleman begg'd of the collonell that he might continue under his sanctuary till these things came to some issue. This the collonell very freely admitted, and entertain'd him till the second returne of the parliament, not without much trouble to his house, of him and his servants, so contrary to the sobriety and holinesse the collonell delighted in, yett for his father's and his uncle's sakes he endur'd it about six months.

Some of Lambert's officers, while he march'd neere Nottinghamshire, having formerly serv'd under the collonell's command, came to his house at Owthorpe and told him of the petition that was sett on foote in Lambert's brigade, and consulted whether they should signe it or no. The collonell advis'd them by no means to doe it, yett notwithstanding they did, which made the collonell exceeding angrie with them, thinking they rather came to see how he stood affected, then really to ask his councell. When Lambert had broken the house, the collonell made a short voyage to London to inform himselfe how things were, and found some of the members exceedingly sensible of the sad estate the kingdome was reduc'd unto by the rash ambition of these men, and resolving that there was no way but for every man that abhorr'd it to improove their interest in their countries, and to suppresse these usurpers and rebells. Hereupon the collonell tooke order to have some armes bought and sent him, and had prepar'd a thousand honest men, whenever he should call for their assistance; intending to improove his posse comitatus when occasion should be offer'd. To provoke him more particularly to this, severall accidents fell out. Among the rest, six of Lambert's troopers came to gather mony, lay'd upon the country by an assessment of parliament, whom the collonell telling that in regard it was leavied by that authority, he had pay'd it, but otherwise would not; two of them, who only were in the roome with the collonell, the rest being on horseback in the court, gave him such insolent termes, with such unsufferable proaches of the parliament, that the collonell drew a sword which was in the roome to have chastis'd them. While a minister that was by held the collonell's arme, his wife, not willing to have them kill'd in her presence, open'd the doore and let them out, who presently run and fetcht in their companions in the yard with cockt pistolls. Upon the bustle, while the collonell having disengag'd himselfe from those that held him, was run after them with the sword drawne, his brother came out of another roome, upon whom, the souldiers pressing against a doore that went into the greate hall, the doore flew open, and about 50 or 60 men appeared in the hall,* who were there upon another businesse. For Owthorpe, Kinolton, and Hicklin, had a contest about a cripple that was sent from one to the other, but at last, out of some respect they had for the collonell, the chiefe men of the severall townes were come to him, to make some accommodation, till the law should be againe in force. When the collonell heard the soulders were come, he left them shut up in his greate hall, who by accident thus appearing, putt the souldiers into a dreadfull fright.

---

* The description of the house contained in a former note will give a just idea of the position of all the parties, and of the striking scene here described.

When the collonell saw how pale they look'd, he encourag'd them to take heart, and calmly admonisht them of their insolence, and they being chang'd and very humble through their feare, he call'd for wine for them, and sent them away. To the most insolent of them he sayd, " These carriages would bring back the " the Stewarts." The man, laying his hand upon his sword, sayd, " Never, while he wore " that." Among other things, they sayd to the collonell, when he demanded by what authority they came, they shew'd their swords, and sayd, " That was their authority." After they were dismist the collonell, not willing to appeare because he was sheriffe of the county, and had many of their papers sent him to publish, conceal'd himselfe in his house, and caus'd his wife to write a letter to Fleetewoode and complaine of the affronts had bene offer'd him, and to tell him that he was thereupon retir'd, till he could dwell safely at home.* To this Fleetewood return'd a civill answer, and withall sent a protection, to forbidd all souldiers from coming to his house, and a command to Swallow, who was the collonell of these men, to examine and punish them. Mrs. Hutchinson had sent before to Swallow, who then quarter'd at Leicester, the next day after it was done, to informe him, who sent a letter utterly disowning their actions, and promising to punish them. This Mrs. Hutchinson sent to shew the souldiers that lay then abusing the country at Colson; but when they saw their officer's letter they laught at him, and tore it in pieces. Some dayes after he, in a civil manner, sent a captaine with them and other souldiers to Owthorpe, to enquire of their misdemeanors before their faces; which being confirm'd to him, and he beginning to rebuke them, they sett him at light, even before Mrs. Hutchinson's face, and made the poor man retire sneap'd to his collonell, while these six rogues, in one weeke's space, besides the assessments assign'd them to gather up, within the compasse of five miles, tooke away violently from the country, for their owne expence, above five-and-twenty pounds. Notwithstanding all

---

* Probably this circumstance of Col. Hutchinson concealing himself in his own home came at that time to be known at Nottingham, and gave rise to a tradition which is to be found in Throsby's edition of Thoroton, that he concealed himself in this manner after the restoration, but was taken in his return from church; both of which were untrue, as probably were some other tales, resembling the legends of romance, which the Editor heard of him at Owthorpe. But that there was an apartment so adapted for concealment, security, and convenience,

---

as that he might have made a long residence in it without being discovered, the Editor had ocular demonstration.

this pretended civillity, Fleetewood and his councellors were afrayd of the collonell, and the protection was but sent to draw him thither, that they might by that meanes get him into their custody. But he having intimation of it, withdrew, while men and arms were preparing, that he might appeare publickly in the defence of the country, when he was strong enough to drive out the souldiers that were left in these parts. Three hundred of them were one night drawne out of Nottingham to come to Owethorpe for him, but some of the party gave him notice, who was then at home, and immediately went out of the house. Neither wanted they their spies, who gave them notice that he was gone againe, so that they turn'd of upon the wolds and went to Hickling, and the next day Maior Grove their commander sent to Mrs. Hutchinson to desire permission for himselfe only to come downe, which she gave, and so with only five or six of his party he came. With him Mrs. Hutchinson so easily dealt that, after she had represented the state of things to him, he began to apologize that he had only taken this command upon him to preserve the country, and should be ready to submit to any lawfull authority; and he and his men were not come for any other intent but to prevent disturbance of the peace and gatherings together of men, who, they were inform'd, intended to rise in these parts. Mrs. Hutchinson smiling, told him it was necessary for him to keepe a good guard, for all the whole country would shortly be weary of their yoake, and, no question, find some authority to shelter them. Att last he came to that, as to desire her to let the collonell know he intended him no mischiefe, but he and all his men should be att her command to defend her from the insolencies of any others. She heard him without faith, for she knew the good will they pretended to her husband proceeded only from their feare. It is true that att that time the collonell had mett with Coll. Hacker, and severall other gentlemen of Northampton and Warwickshire, and at the same time Maior Beque was to have reduc'd Coventry, and another collonell Warwick-castle. Two regiments of horse should have marcht to a place within seven miles of Coll. Hutchinson's house, where his men should have rendezvouz'd, and the towne of Nottingham at the same time have seiz'd all the souldiers there, and they of Leicester the like. These people had, through the spies that were about the collonell, gotten

---

* Perhaps this crisis was the most favourable to the cause of liberty of any that had occurred; for the genuine assertors of it would, at this moment, have found all the

some little inclin of his rendevouz, but not right, neither could they have prevented it, had there bene need.* But iust before it should have bene putt in execution the parliament were restor'd to their seates, Lambert was deserted by his men and fled, and Monke was marching on southwards, pretending to restore and confirme the parliament; insomuch that Coll. Hutchinson, instead of raysing his country, was call'd up to his seate in parliament. Here there were so many favourers of Lambert, Fleetewood, and their partakers, that the collonell, who used to be very silent, could not now forbeare high opposition of them ; in whose favour things were carried with such a streame, that the collonell then began to lose all hopes of settling this poore land on any righteous foundation.

---

different factions weakened, and the body of the nation so tired of tumult and anarchy, that, had they now stood forth in any force, the voice of reason would in all probability have prevailed. But the fluctuations of power and party were at this time so frequent and sudden as hardly to leave sufficient interval for any enterprize that requir'd combination. Moreover it is to be considered that the march of patriotism is impeded by reserves and restraints which ambition overleaps in its career; and after all it is perhaps justly observed that Col. Hutchinson was *too unambitious* for his own glory or the public good.

It was the 26th of December 1659 that the parliament mett againe. The manner of it, and the contest and treaty in the north betweene Monke and Lambert, are too well known to be repeated; the dissimulations and false protestations that Monke made are too publick: yett did the collonell and others suspect him, but knew not how to hinder him; for this insolent usurpation of Lambert's had so turn'd the hearts of all men, that the whole nation began to sett their eies upon the king beyond the sea, and thinke a bad settlement under him better then none at all, but still to be under the arbitrary power of such proud rebells as Lambert. The whole house was divided into miserable factions, among whom some would then violently have sett up an oath of renuntiation of the king and his famely. The collonell, thinking it a ridiculous thing to *sweare out* a man, when they had no power to defend themselves against him, vehemently oppos'd that oath, and carried it against Sr. Ar. Heslerig and others, who as violently press'd it; urging very truly that those oaths that had bene formerly impos'd had but multiplied the sins of the nation by periuries; instancing how Sr. Ar. and others, in Oliver's time, comming into the house, swore at their entrance they would attempt nothing in the change of that government, which, assoone as ever they were enter'd, they labour'd to throw downe. Many other arguments he us'd, whereupon many honest men, who thought till then he had follow'd a faction in all things, and not his owne iudgement, begun to meete often with him, and to consult what to doe in these difficulties, out of which their prudence and honesty had found a way to extricate themselves, but that the period of our prosperity was come; hasten'd on partly by the mad rash violence of some that, without strength, oppos'd the tide of the discontented tumultuous people, partly by the detestable treachery of those who had sold themselves to doe mischiefe; but chiefely by the generall streame of the people, who were as eager for their owne destruction as the Israelites of old for their quailes.*

---

* A frank acknowledgment that the independent parliament, however good the intentions of many of them might be, had become unpopular: but with the general mass of mankind the escape from any present evil is paramount to all future considerations. Perhaps this reflux of the *public mind* was the most effectual cause of the counter revolution, without which Monk might have *plotted* in vain. — And thus perhaps in this, as in so many other instances, Mrs. Hutchinson's natural and rational way of tracing and unfolding the causes of great events will be found to bring us much nearer the truth than all the subtleties employed by others!

One obsesvation of the collonell I cannot omitt, that the secluded members whom Monke brought in were, many of them, so brought over to a commonwealth that, if Sr. Ar. Helesrigg and his party had not forsaken their places because they would not sitt with them, they had made the stronger party in the house, which by reason of their going off were after in all things outvoted. *

---

* We do not know this circumstance to have been noticed by any other historian; but it appears much more probable than that the secluded members should have been *unanimous*, and that in measures of such transcendent import as were now to be decided upon. For this secession Whitelock blames and Ludlow commends Sir Arthur Haselrigge and his friends: their total ruin, which ensued, decides the question.

In support of the opinions and statements contained in this and the two next following pages, are adduced the following out of many extracts that might be made from the third volume of Clarendon's State Papers. Page 687, Broderick to Hyde, Dec. 30, 1659, ridicules the idea of its being possible to establish the Rump;—says Vane, Salway, and Whitelock sit without blush or excuse;—Haslerig must ruin them or be ruined.—A. A. Cooper desires to establish these people.—Haslerig would admit the secluded members provided they would renounce a single person and the line of the Stuarts.

Page 696, Do. to Do. March 9, 1659-60, "Of Monk "I have much more reason to hope better than you ap"prehend, and would lose the hand with which I pay "you this duty, that Mr. Edmonson (the king) had in"closed an answer to Howard by this conveyance, time

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper at that time insinuated himselfe into a particular friendship with the collonell, and made him all the

---

" being very precious, and what a day may produce known " only to the prescience of Almighty God. All the progress that can be made without it is carefully pursued, " nor shall any thing be wanting any care can supply. " The last night's conference between the officers of the " army and members is so variously reported, even by " themselves, (with several of whom I have this morning " discoursed) that it is hard to give a narrative of particulars: the main they agree in, viz. that the demands " were, indemnity for all past actions, confirmation of all " purchases, sale of what remains to the state in the " king's houses, forests, &c. towards the payment of arrears; with some sharp reflections on the militia of several counties put into disaffected hands.

" Sir Wm. Lewis," (one of the secluded members, as appears by Dugdale's list, and who evidently had joined Col. Hutchinson's party since his return) "Arthur Annesley, " Col. Hutchinson, endeavoured their satisfaction by repeating the acts already past in their favour, justifying " many persons so chosen, promises of arrears, with whatever else they thought reasonable to urge against the " intrusion of military stipendiaries upon the privilege of " parliament. Haslerig and some of his faction abetted " the soldiery, but all ended fairly, though far from satisfaction. The general indeed before declared that he " expected their obedience to the supreme authority, not " their usurpation of it; adding that it would be easier to " find officers in the room of those that remained obstinate, than for them to find regiments if the house should " deny pay. Upon the whole I am commanded to tell honorable pretences that can be imagin'd; call'd him his *deare friend*, and caress'd him with such embraces as none but a traytor as vile as himselfe could have suspected; yett was he the most intimate of Monke's confidents; whereupon some few dayes before the rising of that house, when it began to be too apparent which way Monke enclin'd, the collonell, upon the confidence of his friendship, entreated him to tell him what were Monke's intentions, that he and others might consider their safety, who were likely to be given up as a publick sacrifice. Cooper denied to the death any intention besides a com-

---

" you that we suffered nothing in the conference. Haslerig concluded there was no other basis to build on than " the parliament. Col. Rich, Scott, and the rest who hitherto refrained, now enter the house with faint hopes " of opposing the general current. We make no doubt " of success every where. All people cry out, the king! " the king! some indeed add he must come in on terms; " and why doth he not prevent the imposition by a fair " offer published authentically, to release fears, settle " their minds, and render his entrance facile."

The same to the king, March 10, 59-60, says, " Monk " declared he would acquiesce in the judgment of the " parliament both as to king and lords. Another day he " would spend the last drop of his blood rather than the " Stuarts should ever come into England; but he is in " good temper again the same night."

monwealth; "but," sayd he, with the greatest semblance of reallity that can be putt on, "if "the violence of the people should bring the "king upon us, let me be damn'd, body and "soule, if ever I see a haire of any man's "head toucht, or a pennie of any man's "estate upon this quarrell." This he backt with so many and so deep protestations of that kinde, as made the collonell, after his treachery was apparent, detest him of all mankind, and thinke himselfe oblieged, if ever he had opportunity, to procure exemplary iustice on him, who was so vile a wretch as himself to sitt and sentence some of those that died. And although this man ioyn'd with those who labour'd the collonell's particular deliverance, yett the collonel, to his dying day, abhorr'd the mention of his name, and held him for a more execrable traytor than Monke himselfe. Att this time the collonell, as before, was by many of his friends attempted every way to fall in with the king's interest, and often offer'd both pardon and preferment, if he could be wrought off from his party, whose danger was now lay'd before him: but they could no way moove him.* A gentleman that had bene employ'd to tamper with him told me, that he found him so unmooveable, that one time he and a certeine lord being in the collonell's company, and having begun their vaine insinuations, he, to decline them, seeing Cooper, went away with him; upon which this lord, that had some tendernesse for the collonell: "Well," sayd he, to this gentleman, "the collonell is a "ruin'd man, he believes that traytor, which "will ruine him." When they could not worke into him one way, some, that were most kindly concern'd in him, perswaded him to absent himselfe and not act for the parliament, and undertooke with their lives to secure him, but he would not. He foresaw the mischiefe, and resolv'd to stay in his duty, waiting upon God, who accordingly was good to him. Some, when they saw Monke had

---

* It was hard upon him, after this, to be accused by Ludlow of treachery and connivance with the king's friends; but Ludlow was at this time engaged in a differ-

---

ent party, perhaps envious of him for escaping with impunity, when himself despaired of doing so, and went into voluntary exile; and besides Sir A. Ashley Cooper may have stipulated for Col. Hutchinson's indemnity *gratuitously;* while most people suppose that some conditions were imposed. His moderation in a time of phrenzy was surely a sufficient argument, and was probably that which Cooper used in support of the man whom he was forced to esteem, though he did not choose to imitate him.

betrey'd them, would have fallen in with Lambert, but the collonell thought any destruction was to be chosen before the sin of ioyning with such a wretch. *

Now was that glorious parliament come to a period, not more fatall to itselfe then to the three nations, whose sunne of liberty then sett, and all their glorie gave place to the

---

* This was the point whereupon the heads of the republican party divided, but probably at this day the warmest friends of the liberties of the people will think that it was better to return to a monarchy, though not sufficiently limited and defined, than to fall under a stratocracy, or government of the army, which this would have been more completely than even that which existed under Cromwell : indeed it is not easy to see which way it would have differed from that of Algiers. Accordingly we do not find Mrs. Hutchinson ever to have repined that the king had been restored in preference to the establishing of such a power ; but there were many other modes which might have been adopted, without flying to either of these extremes, had not their passions overpowered the reason of some of the great men of that day. In page 705 of the third volume of Clarendon's State Papers, a spy of Charles II. says the Lords Bedford and Manchester, Mr. Pierrepont, Popham, Waller, and St. John, made a junto to treat with the king before his restitution. But the most obvious method for obtaining a better settlement was that proposed by Whitelock to Fleetwood, of an offer of their services to the king upon reasonable conditions : this opportunity was lost by hesitation, and an easy triumph left to Monk, whose determined conduct gave efficacy to the small force he possessed.

fowlest mists that ever overspread a miserable people.* A new parliament was to be chosen, and the county of Nottingham yett had such respect for Coll. Hutchinson, that they fixt their eies on him to be their knight, but Mr. William Pierrepont having a greate desire to bring in his sonne-in-law, the Lord Haughton, to be his fellow knight, the collonell would not come into the towne 'till the election was past; which if he had, he had bene chosen without desiring it, for many people came, and when they saw he would not not stand, returned and voted for none, among whom were fifty freeholders of the towne of Newark.

---

* If the change in politics was great, the change in morals was much greater: statutes have since retrieved the errors committed in the former; it is doubtful whether the national character in taste and morals has ever freed itself from the taint it then received.

Under the patronage and example of the king, wit put decency to flight; religion and patriotism, veneration of God and the love of our country, the two noblest affections of the mind, were dragged through the mire of doggrel rhimes, under the pretence of deriding hypocrisy; under the notion of gaiety and goodfellowship, profligacy and sensuality gained a footing which they have never quitted, but still maintain their ground, by the dangerous secret then taught them of reducing all by invidious surmises and unjust depreciations nearly to the level of their own baseness.

The plays and other writings of those days are tinctured with an air of rakishness which often appears affected and misplaced; it was the polite ridicule of the Spectators which put this folly out of countenance and practice. Some modern wits have attempted to revive it, and but for the general turn to philosophical inquiry they would probably succeed. Those who *reason* cannot but see that shameless depravity is a very bad substitute for even simulated virtue.

Sometime before the writts for the new elections came, the towne of Nottingham, as almost all the rest of the island, began to grow mad, and declare themselves so, in their desires of the king. The boys, sett on by their fathers and masters, gott drummes and colours, and marcht up and downe the towne, and train'd themselves in a millitary posture, and offer'd many affronts to the souldiers of the armie, that were quarter'd there, which were two troopes of Coll. Hacker's regiment. Insomuch that one night there were about forty of the souldiers hurt and wounded with stones, upon the occasion of taking away the drummes, when the youths were gathering together to make bonfires to burn the* rump, as the custome of those mad dayes was. The souldiers provok'd to rage, shott againe, and kill'd in the scuffle two presbiterians, whereof one was an elder, and an old professor; and one that had bene a greate zealott for the cause, and master of the magazine of Nottingham castle. He was only standing at his owne doore, and whether by chance, or on purpose shott, or by whom, it is not certeine; but true it is, that at that time, the presbiterians were more inveterately bitter against the fanatiques than even the cavaliers themselves, and they sett on these boyes. But upon the killing of this man they were hugely enrag'd, and pray'd very seditiously in their pulpits, and began openly to desire the king; not for good will neither to him, but for destruction to all the fanatiques. One of the ministers who were greate leaders of the people, had bene engag'd firmly in Booth's rebellion, and very many of the godly led in, who, by the timely suppression of those who began the insurrection in Nottingham, were prevented from declaring themselves openly. Coll. Hutchinson was as mercifull as he could safely be, in not setting on too strict inquisition; but privately admonishing such as were not past hopes of becoming good commonwealth's men, if it were possible that the labouring state might outlive the present storme. Upon this bustle in the towne of Nottingham, the souldiers were horribly incens'd, and the townsmen ready to take part with the boyes; whereupon the souldiers drew into the meadowes neare the towne, and sent for the regiment, resolving to execute their vengeance on the towne, and the townsmen againe were mustering to encounter them. Mrs. Hutchinson by chance comming to the towne, and being acquainted with the captains, perswaded them to doe nothing in a tumultuary way, however provok'd, but to complaine to the generall, and let him decide the businesse.

---

* The number of the members of the long parliament having been by seclusion, death, &c. very much reduced, the remainder was compared to the rump of a fowl which was left, all the rest being eaten; and this coarse emblem was burnt in derision by the mob, to hail and flatter the rising power of the cavaliers.

The men, att her entreaty, were content so to doe, the townsmen also concenting to restreine their children and servants, and keepe the publick peace; while it was agreed that both of them should send up together a true information to the generall, concerning the late quarrell. But one of the officers, more enrag'd then the rest, went immediately away to Monke, and complain'd to him of the mallice of the presbiterian and cavalier, against the souldiers. He without asking more on the other side, sign'd a warrant to Coll. Hacker, to lett loose the fury of his regiment upon the towne, and plunder all they iudg'd guilty; with which the officer immediately went away.

Coll. Hutchinson being at that time at the generall's lodging, my lord Howard told him what order against the towne of Nottingham had iust bene sent downe. The collonell, who had bene by his wife inform'd of the disorders there, went to the generall, and prevail'd with him for a countermand of all hostillity against the towne, till he should heare and determine the businesse: which countermand the collonell sent immediately by one of the townsmen, who, though he ridd post, came not till Coll. Hacker, with all his regiment, were come into the towne before him, and the souldiers were in some of the houses beginning to rifle them. Wherefore the countermand comming so seasonably from Coll. Hutchinson, they could not but look upon him as their deliverer; and this being done very few days before the election for the next parliament, when the collonell came to towne and had waved the county, they generally pitch'd upon him for the towne. But then Dr. Plumtre labour'd all he could to get the burgess-ship for himselfe, and to put by the collonell, with the basest scandalls he and two or three of his associates could rayse. Mr. Arthur Stanhope, in whose house the souldiers were enter'd to plunder, being pitcht upon for the other burgesse, and having a greate party in the towne, was dealt with to desert the collonell, and offer'd all Plumtre's party; but on the other side, he labour'd more for the collonell then for himselfe, and at length, when the election day came, Mr. Stanhope and the collonell were clearly chosen.*

The collonell and Mr. Stanhope went up to the parliament, which began on the 25th day of Aprill, 1660; to whom the king sending a declaration from Breda, which promis'd, or at least intimated, liberty of conscience, remission of all offences, enioyment of liberties and estates; they voted to send commissioners to invite him †. And allmost all the gentry of all parties went, some to fetch him over, some to meete him att the sea-side, some to fetch him into London, into which he enter'd on the 29th day of May, with an universall ioy and triumph, even to his owne amazement; who, when he saw all the nobillity and gentry of the land flowing in to him, askt where were his enemies? For he saw nothing but prostrates, expressing all the love that could make a prince happie. Indeed it was a wonder in that day to see the mutabillity of some, and the hipocrisie of others, and the servile flattery of all. Monke, like his better genius, conducted him, and was ador'd like one that had brought all the glory and felicity of mankind home with this prince.

---

* Both Whitelock and Ludlow assure us, that there were great solicitations in all parts to get to be parliament men; and Rapin says, that almost all the elections were in favour of the presbyterians and royalists, peculiarly the former. This circumstance renders Col. Hutchinson's popularity and personal merit so much the more conspicuous.

† That the parliament, and this, as Rapin calls it, a *presbyterian* parliament, should thus simply and unconditionally have invited the king, has always been matter of astonishment; the first to find out the error into which their precipitancy had led them, were the royalists, and of them the *best*, the Earl of Southampton, who by Burnet, p. 89. is said to have laid the chief blame on Chancellor Hyde. But was it not equally in the power of the parliament, *after* the king's arrival, to have imposed any reasonable conditions, at least before they established for him such an income as to render him independent?

The officers of the armie had made themselves as fine as the courtiers, and every one hoped in this change to change their condition, and disown'd all things they before had advis'd. Every ballad singer sung up and downe the streetes ribald rymes, made in reproach of the late commonwealth, and all those worthies that therein endeavour'd the people's freedome and happinesse.

The * presbiterians were now the white

---

* It has been pretty generally reported and believed of the king, that he was more inclined to confirm and augment than disturb or diminish the extent of the amnesty he

boyes, and according to their nature fell a thirsting, then hunting after blood, urging that God's blessing could not be upon the land, till iustice had cleans'd it from the late king's blood. First that fact was disown'd, then all the acts made after it render'd void, then an inquisition made after those that were guilty thereof, but only seven nominated of them that sate in iudgment on that prince, for exemplary iustice, and a proclamation sent for the rest to come in, upon penalty of loosing their estates.

While these things were debating in the house, at the first, divers persons, concern'd in that businesse, sate there, and when the businesse came into question, every one of them spoke to it, according to their present sence. But Mr. Lenthall, sonne to the late speaker of that parliament, when the presbi-

---

had proffered at Breda: and there are upon record very honourable instances of many of the royalists exhibiting a spirit of forgiveness and reconciliation: perhaps the most rational way of accounting for the chief of the presbyterian party shewing rigour, is to suppose that they did it in order to remove from themselves the odium of those violences of which they had been the original and remote cause, and cast it on those who were the immediate and proximate one. Be the cause or reasoning what it may, the fact is well established by the trials of the regicides.

terians first call'd that businesse into question, though not at all concern'd in it himselfe, stood up and made so handsome and honorable a speech in defence of them all, as deserves eternal honor. But the presbiterians call'd him to the barre for it, where, though he mitigated some expressions, which might be ill taken of the house, yet he spoke so generously, as it is never to be forgotten of him. Herein he behav'd himselfe with so much courage and honor as was not matcht at that time in England, for which he was look'd on with an evil eie, and, upon a pretence of treason, put in prison; from whence his father's mony, and the lieutenant of the tower's iealousie deliver'd him. When it came to Inglesbies turne, he, with many teares, profest his repentance for that murther, and told a false tale, how Cromwell held his hand, and forc'd him to subscribe the sentence, and made a most whining recantation, after which he retir'd, and another had almost ended, when Coll. Hutchinson, who was not there at the beginning, came in, and was told what they were about, and that it would be expected he should say something. He was surpriz'd with a thing he expected not, yet neither then, nor in any the like occasion, did he ever faile himself, but told them, " That for his actings

" in those dayes, if he had err'd, it was the " inexperience of his age, and the defect of his " iudgment, and not the mallice of his heart, " which had ever prompted him to persue the " generall advantage of his country more then " his owne; and if the sacrifice of him might " conduce to the publick peace and settlement, he should freely submit his life and " fortunes to their dispose: that the vain expence of his age, and the greate debts his " publick employments had runne him into, " as they were testimonies that neither avarice nor any other interest had carried him " on, so they yielded him iust cause to repent " that he ever forsooke his owne blessed " quiett, to embarque in such a troubled sea, " where he had made shipwrack of all things " but a good conscience; and as to that particular action of the king, he desir'd them " to believe he had that sense of it, that befitted an Englishman, a Christian, and a gentleman."* What he express'd was to this

---

* This speech will probably be considered as a specimen of art carried as far as a man of honour would permit himself to go, and managed with as much refinement and dexterity as the longest premeditation could have produced; accordingly it furnished his friends with a topic for his defence, without giving his adversaries ground for reproaching him with tergiversation.

Rhodes sculp.
proof.

effect, but so very handsomely delivered, that it generally tooke the whole house: only one gentleman stood up and say'd, he had express'd himselfe as one that was much more sorrie for the events and consequences, then the actions: but another replied, that when a man's words might admitt of two interpretations, it befitted gentlemen allwayes to receive that which might be most favourable. Assoone as the collonell had spoken, he retir'd into a roome, where Inglesbie was, with his eies yett red, who had call'd up a little spite to succeed his whinings, and embracing Coll. Hutchinson, "O collonell," say'd he, "did I ever "imagine we could be brought to this? Could "I have suspected it, when I brought them "Lambert in the other day, this sword should "have redeem'd us from being dealt with as "criminalls, by that people, for whom we "had so gloriously exposed ourselves." The collonell told him, he had foreseene, ever since those usurpers thrust out the lawful authority of the land, to enthrone themselves, it could end in nothing else; but the integrity of his heart, in all he had done, made him as chearefully ready to suffer as to triumph in a good cause. The result of the house that day was to suspend Coll. Hutchinson and the rest from sitting in the house. Monke, after all his greate professions, now sate still, and had not one word to interpose for any person, but was as forward to sett vengeance on foot as any man.

Mrs. Hutchinson, whom to keepe quiett her husband had hitherto perswaded that no man would lose or suffer by this change, att this beginning was awakened, and saw that he was ambitious of being a publick sacrifice, and therefore, herein only in her whole life, resolv'd to disobey him, and to emproove all the affection he had to her for his safety, and prevail'd with him to retire; for she say'd, she would not live to see him a prisoner. With her unquietnesse, she drove him out of her owne lodgings into the custody of a friend, in order to his further retreate, if occasion should be, and then made it her businesse to sollicite all her friends for his safety. Meanwhile in the house, it was first resolv'd, that mercy should be shewn to some, and exemplary iustice to others; then the number was defin'd, and voted it should not exceed seven; then upon the king's owne sollicitation, that his subiects should be putt out of their feares, those seven named; and after that a proclamation sent for the rest to come in. Coll. Hutchinson not being of the number of those seven, was advis'd by all his friends to surrender himselfe, in order to securing his estate, and he was very earnest to doe it, when Mrs. Hutchinson would by no means heare of it: but being exceedingly urg'd by his friends, that she would hereby obstinately loose all their estate, she would not yett consent the collonell should give himselfe into custody, and she had wrought him to a strong engagement, that he would not dispose of himselfe without her. Att length being accus'd of obstinacy, in not giving him up, she devis'd a way to trie the house, and writt a letter in his name to the speaker, to urge what might be in his favour, and to lett him know, that by reason of some inconveniency it might be to him, he desir'd not to come under custody, and yett should be ready to appeare att their call, and if they intended any mercy to him, he begg'd they would beginne it in permitting him his liberty upon his parolle, till they should finally determine of him. This letter she conceiv'd would trie the temper of the house; if they granted this, she had her end, for he was still free; if they denied it, she might be satisfied in keeping him from surrendering himselfe.

Having contriv'd and written this letter, before she carried it to the collonell, a friend came to her out of the house, neere which her lodgings then were, and told her that if they had but any ground to begin, the house was that day in a most excellent temper towards her husband; whereupon she writt her husband's name to the letter, and ventur'd to send it in, being us'd sometimes to write the letters he dictated, and her character not much differing from his. These gentlemen who were moov'd to trie this opertunity, were not of the friends she relied on; but God, to shew that it was he, not they, sent two common friends, who had so good successe that the letter was very well receiv'd; and upon that occasion all of all parties spoke so kindly and effectually for him, that he had not only what he desir'd, but was voted to be free without any engagement, and his punishment only to be discharg'd from the present parliament, and from all office, millitary or civill, in the state for ever; and upon his petition of thanks for this, his estate alsoe was voted to be free from all mulcts and confiscations. Many providentiall circumstances concurr'd in this thing. That which put the house into so good a humour towards the collonell that day, was, that having taken the businesse of the king's triall into consideration, certeine committees were found to be appoynted, to order the preparation of the court, the chaires and cushions, and other formallities, wherein Coll. Hutchinson had nothing to doe*; but when they had past their votes for his absolute discharge and came to the sitting of the court, he was found not to have bene one day away. A rogue that had bene one of their clearkes had brought in all these informations; and above all, poore Mrs. Hacker, thinking to save her husband, had brought up the warrant for execution, with all their hands and seales.†

Sr. Allen Apsley too, who, with all the kindest zeale of friendship that can be imagin'd, endeavour'd to bring of the collonell, us'd some artifice in engaging friends for him. There was a young gentleman, a kinsman of his, who thirstily aspir'd after preferrment, and Sr. Allen had given him hopes, upon his effectuall endeavours for the collonell, to introduce him, who being a person that had understanding enough, made no conscience of truth, when an officious lie might serve his turne. This man, although he ow'd his life to the collonell, and had a thousand obligations to Mrs. Hutchinson's parents, yet not for their sakes, nor for virtue, nor for gratitude, but for his owne hopes, which he had of Sr. Allen Apsley, told some of the leading men among the court party, that it was the king's desire to have favour shewne to the collonell; whereupon Mr. Palmer, since Castlemaine, was the first man that spoke for the collonell, whom Finch most eloquently seconded. Then Sr. George Booth and his party all appear'd for the collonell, in gratitude for his civillity to them. For when the parliament had past by the rebellion of Lambert and Fleetewood, and those who ioyn'd with them, and would not make their offences capitall, he had told the house, they could not without greate partiality punish these, and had moov'd much in their favour. Mr. Pierrepont, and all the old sage parliament men, out of very heartie kindnesse, spoke and labour'd very effectually to bring him cleare of; and there was not at that day any man that receiv'd a more generall testimony of love and good esteeme of all parties then he did, not one of the most violent hunters of blood opposing favour, and divers most worthy persons giving a true and honourable testimony of him. Although they knew his principles contrary to theirs, yet they so iustified his cleare and upright carriage, according to his owne perswasion, as was a record much advancing his honour, and such as no man else in that day receiv'd.*

---

* In Nalson's Trial of Charles I. it appears, that on Friday, Jan. 12, when a committee was appointed for ordering the trial, and many minute particulars agreed to for the management of it, Col. Hutchinson was absent, but attended most other days. On Jan. 25. however, when the sentence was suggested, he was absent, but was present at the signing, and himself signed the warrant for execution.

† To those who have not read or not remembered the trials of the regicides, it may be useful to remark, that Col. Hacker was tried for superintending the execution of the king in his millitary capacity, for which it seems this warrant was expected to prove a sufficient justification: and perhaps it ought to have been so considered: but it is extraordinary that his wife, before she gave up an instrument which seemed so precious to those who were seeking revenge, had not stipulated for her husband's pardon.

Yett though he very well deserv'd it, I cannot so much attribute that universall concurrence that was in the whole house to expresse esteeme of him and desire to save him, to their iustice and gratitude, as to an overruling power of him that orders all men's hearts, who was then pleas'd to reserve his servant, even by the good and true testimony of some that afterwards hated him and sought his ruine, for the perseverance in that goodnesse, which then forc'd them to be his advocates ; for even the worst and basest men have a secrett conviction of worth and virtue, which they never dare to persecute in its owne name. The collonell being thus discharged the house, retir'd to a remoter lodging from Westminster, and lay very private in the towne, not comming into any companie of one sort or other, waiting till the act of oblivion were perfected, to goe downe againe into the countrie ; but when the act came to be past in the house, then the Lord Lexington sett divers friends on worke in the common's house to get a proviso inserted, that the Newarker's mony, which he pay'd into the committee of Haberdasher's Hall, and was by that committee pay'd to the collonell for his pay, might, with all the use of it, be pay'd out of the collonell's estate. He forg'd many false pretences to obteine this; but it was reiected in the common's house, and the bill going up to the lords, was past without any proviso's. Only the gentlemen that were the late king's iudges, and decoy'd to surrender themselves to custody by the House's proclamation, after that they had voted only seven to suffer, were now given up to a triall, both for their lives and estates, and put in to close prison, where they were miserably kept, brought shortly after to triall, condemn'd, all their estates confiscated and taken away, themselves kept in miserable bondage under that inhumane bloody iaylor the lieftenant of the Tower, who stifled some of them to death for want of ayre; and when they had not one pennie, but what was given them to feed themselves and their families, exacted abominable rates for bare unfurnish't prisons; of some forty pounds for one miserable chamber, of others double, besides undue and uniust fees, which their poore wives were forc'd to beg and engage their iointures and make miserable shifts for: and yet this rogue had all this while three pounds a weeke pay'd out of the chequer for every one of them. At last when this would not kill them fast enough, and when some almes were thus privately stollen in to them, they were sent away to remote and dismall islands, where reliefe could not reach them, nor any of their relations take care of them; in this a thousand times more miserable than those that died, who were thereby prevented from the eternall infamie and remorse, which hope of life and estate made these poore men bring upon themselves, by base and false recantations of their owne iudgment, against their consciences; which they wounded for no advantage, but liv'd ever after in misery themselves, augmented by seeing the misery of their wretched famelies, and in the daily apprehension of death, which, without any more formallity, they are to expect whenever the tyrant gives the word. And these are the "*tender* MERCIES *of the wicked!*"* Among which I cannot forgett one passage that I saw. Monke and his wife, before they were moov'd to the Tower, while they were yett prisoners at Lambeth House, came one evening to the garden and caused them to be brought downe, only to stare at them. Which was such a bar-

---

* Mr. Lassels (probably Lascelles) enjoyed exactly a similar exemption, the peculiar reasons for it are not accurately known, but it is natural to suppose they were similar.

---

[*] Almost all who have written any account of the transactions of those days shew a desire to gratify the faction which then prevailed, and have endeavoured to establish a notion that great lenity was shewn to all the regicides who were not of the seven excepted : what it was we here learn.

The English nation have long dwelt on the hackneyed theme of French oppression, lettres de catchet, bastilles, &c. and have affected an ignorance of what has passed here, in full sight of a British parliament. Those who have viewed the matter near at hand know very well that *these* superlative powers were not at all more dangerous, nor so much abused in France as here, nor the treatment near so rigorous. The prisons of state were there always under the command of noblemen and military officers, who were little likely to practise the jailor's arts. The more any office is despised, the more vile hands will it fall into, and the more atrociously will it be executed; this reasoning sufficiently establishes the necessity of watching with a jealous eye the conduct of these ministers of justice, if such they should be called, in a country like this. A more desolating picture of misery long drawn out can hardly be imagined. We shall again have to notice the conduct of this lieftenant of the Tower.

barisme, for that man, who had betrey'd so many poore men to death and misery that never hurt him, but had honor'd him, and trusted their lives and interest with him, to glutt his bloody eies with beholding them in their bondage, as no story can parallel the inhumanity of.

Coll. Scroope, who had bene clear'd by vote as the collonel was, was afterwards raced out for nothing, and had the honour to die a noble martyr.

Although the collonell was clear'd both for life and estate in the house of commons, yet he not answering the court expectations in publick recantations and dissembled repentance, and applause of their cruelty to his fellows, the chancellor was cruelly exasperated against him, and there were very high endeavours to have rac'd him out of the act of oblivion. But then Sr. Allen Apsley sollicited all his friends, as it had bene for his owne life, and divers honorable persons drew up a certificate, with all the advantage they could, to procure him favour; who in all things that were not against the interest of the state had ever pitied and protected them in their distresses.* The Countesse of Rochester writt a very effectuall letter to the Earl of Manchester, making her request that the favour to him might be confirm'd as an obligation to her, to quitt some that she, and as she suppos'd, her lord had receiv'd from him. This letter was read in the house, and Sr. Allen Apsley's candidate for preferrement againe made no conscience of deceiving several lords, that the preserving of the collonell would be acceptable to the king and the chancellor, who he now knew hated his life. Many lords alsoe of the collonell's relations and acquaintance out of kindnesse and gratitude, (for there was not one of them whom he had not in his day more or lesse oblieg'd), us'd very hearty endeavours for him. Yett Sr. Allen Apsley's interest and most fervent endeavours for him, was that which only turn'd the scales, and the collonell was not excepted in the act of oblivion to aniething but offices.

---

* The Countess of Rochester was the wife of Wilmot, general of the horse for the king, who upon dis-

---

gust quitted his service, and receiving a passport, went abroad; his wife expressed *loyalty to*, and received much favour from the parliament, as Whitelock informs us; very likely by the procurement of Col. Hutchinson. The passage before us (and many other such like) may serve as a useful memento to those who are engaged in civil broils, to maintain all they can of private kindness, consistently with what they think their public duty. For the honour of human nature let due notice be taken of the steady friendship of Sir Allen Apsley.

The provisoes to the act of oblivion were all cut of, and it was determin'd that those things should passe in particular acts; when the Lord Lexington gott one for that Newark mony to be repay'd out of the collonell's estate, with all the interest for 14 yeares. This act was committed, and the collonell had councell to plead against it, and the Marquesse Dorchester* having the chayre, was wonderfull civill to the collonell. The adverse councell having bene men that practis'd under the parliament, thought they could no way ingratiate themselves so well as by making invectives against those they formerly claw'd with, and when quite besides their matter, they fell into raylings against the iniustice of the former times and scandalls of the collonell, the marquesse check'd them severely, and bade them mind their cause: but Mr. Finch, one of the collonell's councell, after a lawyer had made a long rayling speech, which held them a tedious while, he replying; "My lord," sayd he, "this "gentleman hath taken up a greate deale of "time to tell your lordship how uniust that "parliament was, how their committees per"verted iudgment and right, which he setts "forth with all his power of language to make "them odious, and in conclusion would per"suade your lordship therefore to doe the "same things." After the hearing at the committee, a report was made so favourable for the collonell that the bill was cast aside, and the house being then ready to adiourne, most of the collonell's friends went out of towne, which opertunity Lexington taking notice of, the very last day in a huddle gott the bill past the lord's house.*

---

* The same whom, when Viscount Newark, Col. Hutchinson rescued from the violence of the countrymen at Nottingham; to whom afterwards the colonel made, at the request of her friends, the offer of the hand and fortune of Lady Anne Somerset, and who so handsomely now evinces his candour and gratitude. His character is well contrasted with that of Lord Lexington, who in the first place obtained a peerage for the sacrifice of this very money; next refused payment of it to the Newarkers, of whom he had borrowed it; then, upon being compelled to pay it, procured easy terms by the colonel's interference; and now attempts to plunder his benefactor of the whole!

Then the collonell went down into the country, and found it necessary to reduce and change his famely, which were many of them people he tooke in for charity, when they could no where elce be receiv'd, and they had bene more humble and dutifull while they were under hatches, but now might find better preferrments, and were not to be confided in; yett he dismist not any of them without bountifull rewards, and such kind dismissions as none but that false generation would not have bene oblieged by. But some of them soone after betrey'd him as much as was in their power, whose prudence had so liv'd with them, that they knew nothing that could hurt his person.

---

* The practice of parliament at that time must have differed from what it now is, for such a bill to originate in the house of lords: we shall presently see it miscarry in the commons.

When the collonell saw how the other poore gentlemen were trapan'd that were brought in by proclamation, and how the whole cause itselfe, from the beginning to the ending, was betrey'd and condemn'd, notwithstanding that he himselfe, by a wonderfull overruling providence of God, in that day was preserved; yett he look'd upon himselfe as iudg'd in their iudgement, and executed in their execution*; and although he was most thankfull to God, yett he was not very well satisfied in himselfe for accepting the deliverance. His wife, who thought she had never deserv'd so well of him, as in the endeavours and labours she exercis'd to bring him of, never displeas'd him more in her life, and had much adoe to perswade him to be contented with his deliverance; which, as it was eminently wrought by God, he acknowledg'd it with thankfullnesse; but while he saw others suffer, he suffer'd with them in his mind, and, had not his wife perswaded him, had offer'd himselfe a voluntary sacrifice, but being by her convinc'd that God's eminent appearance, seem'd to have singled him out for preservation, he with thankes acquiesced in that thing; and further remembering that he was but young att that time when he enter'd into this engagement, and that many who had preacht and led the people into it, and of that parliament, who had declar'd it to be treason not to advance and promote that cause, were all now apostatiz'd, and as much preacht against it, and call'd it rebellion and murther, and sate on the tribunall to iudge it; he again reflected seriously upon all that was past, and beg'd humbly of God to enlighten him and shew him his sin if ignorance or misunderstanding had led him into error; but the more he examin'd the cause from the first, the more he became confirm'd in it, and from that time sett himselfe to a more diligent study of the scriptures, whereby he attain'd confirmation in many principles he had before, and dayly greater enlightnings concerning the free grace and love of God in Jesus Christ, and the spirituall worship under the gospell, and the gospell liberty, which ought not to be subiected to the wills and ordinances of men in the service of God. This made him reioyce in all he had done in the Lord's cause, and he would often say, the Lord had not thus eminently preserv'd him for nothing, but that he was yett kept for some eminent service or suffering in this cause; although having bene freely pardon'd by the present powers, he resolv'd not to doe aniething against the king, but thought himselfe oblieg'd to sitt still and wish his prosperity in all things that were not destructive to the interest of Christ and his members on earth; yett as he could not wish well to any ill way, so he believ'd that God had sett him aside, and that therefore he ought to mourne in silence and retirednesse, while he lay under this obligation.

---

* A sentiment most conformable to nature—but to a most just and amiable nature!

He had not bene long at home but a pursuivant from the councell was sent to fetch him from his house at Owthorpe, who carried him to the attorney generall. He, with all preparatory insinuations, how much he would express his gratitude to the king and his repentance for his error, if he would now deale ingenuously, in bearing testimony to what he should be examined, sifted him very thoroughly; but the collonell, who was peek'd at heart that they should thus use him, to reserve him with an imagination that he would serve their turnes in witnessing to the destruction of the rest, compos'd himselfe as well as he could, and resolv'd upon another testimony then they expected, if they had call'd him to any. But the attorney generall was so ill satisfied with his private examination that he would not venture a publick one. He dealt with him with all the art and flatteries that could be, to make him but appeare, in the least thing, to have deserted his owne and embrac'd the king's party; and he brought the warrant of execution to the collonell, and would faine have perswaded him to owne some of the hands, and to have imparted some circumstances of the sealing, because himselfe was present. But the collonell answered him, that in a businesse transacted so many years agoe, wherein life was concern'd, he durst not beare a testimony, having at that time bene so little an observer, that he could not remember the least title of that most eminent circumstance, of Cromwell's forcing Coll. Inglesby to sett to his unwilling hand, which, if his life had depended on that circumstance, he could not have affirm'd. "And then, Sir," say'd he, "if I have lost so great a thing as "that, it cannot be expected lesse eminent "passages remaine with me." Then being shew'd the gentlemen's hands, he told him he was not well acquainted with them, as having never had commerce with the most of them by letters; and those he could owne, he could only say they resembled the writings which he was acquainted with; among these he only pickt out Cromwell's, Ireton's, and my lord Grey's. The attorney generall, very ill satisfied with his private examination, dismiss'd him; yett was he serv'd with a writt to appear in the court the next day. The collonell had bene told that, when they were in distresse for witnesses to make up their formallity, Coll. Inglesby had put them upon sending for him, which made him give that instance to the attorney.* The next day the court sate, and the collonell was fetcht in and made to passe before the prisoner's faces, but examined to nothing; which he much waited for, for the sight of the prisoners, with whom he believed himselfe to stand att the barre, and the sight of the iudges, among whom was that *vile traytor* who had sold the men that trusted him; and he that openly sayd he abhorr'd the word *accommodation*, when moderate men would have prevented the warre; and the collonell's owne *deare friend*, who had wisht damnation to his soule if he ever suffer'd pennie of any man's estate, or haire of any man's head, to be touched; the sight of these * had so provok'd his spiritt that, if he had bene call'd to speake, he was resolv'd to have borne testimony to the cause and against the court; but they asking him nothing, he went to his lodging, and so out of towne, and would not come any more into their court, but sent the attorney generall word he could witnesse nothing, and was sick with being kept in the crowd and the presse, and therefore desired to be excus'd from coming any more thither. The attorney made a very mallitious report of him to the chancellor and the king, insomuch as his ruine was then determined, and only opertunity watch'd to effect it. †

---

* *Risum teneatis.* The subject is too serious for laughter, but an involuntary smile will be excited by this sarcasm, so well pointed. It is no wonder the attorney general did not wish to examine him further!

---

* Monk, Ashley Cooper, and Hollis. Does not every one feel his indignation roused at this wanton outrage upon decency? Perhaps Col. Hutchinson's appearance in court may have been misconstrued by many, as they might be ignorant that it was involuntary, and no one but himself could know that he meant to give evidence contrary to what was desired of him.

† The king intimated to the lords, when there were disputes on foot respecting the exceptions to the bill of indemnity, that "*other ways* might be found to meet "with those of turbulent and factious spirits:" thereby

When Sr. A. Apsley came to the chancellor he was in a greate rage and passion, and fell upon him with much vehemence. "O Nall," sayd he "what have you done? you have "sav'd a man that would be ready, if he had "opertunity, to mischiefe us as much as ever "he did." Sr. Allen was forc'd to stop his mouth, and tell him, that he believ'd his brother a lesse dangerous person then those he had brought into the king's councell, meaning Maynard and Glynne*; but the truth is, from that time, all kindnesse that any one expresst to the collonell was ill resented, and the Countesse of Rochester was alsoe severely rebuk'd for having appear'd so kind to the collonell.

When the parliament sate againe the collonell sent up his wife to sollicite his businesse in the house, that the Lord Lexington's bill might not passe the lower house. At her first coming to towne a parliament man, a creature of Worcester-house, being in his coach, she out of her's call'd to him, who was her kinsman,

---

shewing that he had, like the rest of his family, secret reserves for rendering insignificant his public acts.

* Maynard and Glynne had chimed in not only with the parliament but with Cromwell, under whom both held offices. The chancellor will hereafter find them dangerous inmates—in pushing the affair of his accusation and exile.

and desir'd his vigilancy to prevent her iniury. "I could wish," sayd he, "it had bene finisht "last time, for your husband hath lately so ill "behav'd himselfe that it will passe against "him." She answer'd, "I pray let my "friends but doe their endeavours for me, "and then let it be as God will." He, smiling att her, replied, "*It is not now as God* "*will* *, *but as wee will.*" However she, notwithstanding many other discouragements, waited upon the businesse every day, when her adversaries as dilligently sollicited against her. One day a friend came out of the house and told her that they were that day so engag'd that she might go home and rest secure nothing would be done, and that day most of her friends were away, and her opposites tooke this oppertunity to bring it into the house, which was now much alienated, especially all the court party, from the collonell; but God, to shew that not friends, nor dilligence, preserv'd our estates, stirr'd up the hearts of strangers to do us iustice, and the bill was throwne out when wee had scarce one of these friends wee relied on in the house.

Presently after Mrs. Hutchinson came to towne a kinsman of hers, fallen into the wicked councells of the court, came to visit her one evening, and had bene so freely drinking as to unlock his bosome, when he told her that the king had bene lately among them where he was, and told them that they had sav'd a man, meaning Coll. Hutchinson, who would doe the same thing for him he did for his father, for he was still unchang'd in his principles, and readier to protect then accuse any of his associates, and would not discover any councells or designes, or any party, though he were knowne to have hated them.* Then this gentleman told her how contemptuous a carriage it was, that he would not owne one but dead hands, and how they were resolv'd his pardon should never passe the seale, and what a desperate condition he was reduc'd to. Having thus affrighted her, then, to draw her in by examples, he told her how the late statesman's wives came and offer'd them all the informations they had gather'd from their husbands, and how she could not but know more then any of them; and if yett she would impart aniething that might shew her gratitude, she might redeeme her famely from ruine; and then perticularly told her how her husband had bene intimate with Vane, Pierrepont, and St. Johns, whose councells they knew how farre they had gone in this matter, and that if she would prevent others in the declaring of them, she might much advantage herselfe. But she told him, she perceiv'd any safety one could buy of them was not worth the price of honor and conscience; that she knew nothing of state managements, or if she did, she would not establish herselfe upon any man's blood and ruine. Then he employ'd all his witt to circumvent her in discource, to have gotten something out of her concerning some persons they aym'd at, which if he could, I believe would have bene beneficiall to him; but she discern'd his drift, and scorn'd to become an informer, and made him believe she was ignorant, though she could have enlightened him in the thing he sought for; which they are now never likely to know much of, it being lockt up in the grave, and they that survive not knowing that their secrets are remoov'd into another cabinett.*

---

* This well marks the change of style that had taken place.

---

* The king's satirical favourite, Rochester, reports of him that he never said a foolish thing ; but surely this was not a very wise one ! How could he have faith in any such sudden changes ? What he did not mean to do he did, which was to establish Col. Hutchinson's steadiness and consistency beyond question. We know from this history that Col. Hutchinson's sense of honour was a complete safeguard against him ; but this was a principle of which Charles felt not, and affected to disbelieve the existence.

---

* Any who are delighted with the discovery of a secret

After all, naturall affection working at that time with the gentleman, he in great kindnesse

---

will be disappointed that Mrs. Hutchinson did not even here reveal hers, but resisted the bewitching vanity of shewing the confidence that had been reposed in her by betraying it. She might, perhaps, with great propriety, think it not prudent to commit it to writing, though it was to be read only by her own family. — Of the persons here named, Sir H.Vane, it is well known, was sacrificed to the manes of Lord Strafford, whose attainder he was supposed, in a great measure, to have procured; but there seems not to have been any pretence for excepting him out of the amnesty. He viewed his fate, and the king who sentenced him to it, with equal contempt; and the passage before us is a proof of the fidelity he maintained towards his associates. — St. John was excluded from all offices; but Pierrepont escaped untouched in all respects, and represented the county of Nottingham in the short parliament which restored the king, but appears not to have been re-chosen in that which succeeded it. That he who was so *deeply engaged* should have come off so well, is matter of wonder, and the more so when we take into consideration the following particulars.

The ingenious writer of the critique of this work in the Annual Review, conjectures that the secret which this friend of Mrs. Hutchinson endeavoured to extort from her was, *the name of that considerable person who had formed the design of settling the state under Richard Cromwell,* as mentioned in p. 222. This is highly probable, and still more so that this person was Mr. William Pierrepont, and that the royalists aimed peculiarly at his destruction, as will appear from many passages that are to be found in advis'd her that her husband should leave England. She told him he could not conveniently,

---

the third volume of Clarendon's State Papers. In one part the good-will of Pierrepont to Rd. Cromwell, and Richard's respect for him, are spoken of: in another Hyde instructs his spies to " gain Thurloe, whom he thinks " considerable, and he would gain St. John and Pierre- " pont," adding significantly, " they have manifested that " they have no inveterate objection to a *single person*, " and the right heir is the best person." In another place it is said by one of the spies, that " St. John, Pierrepont, " and Thurloe, continue to cabal and press the general " (Monk); *three such evil beasts do not exist*." But when Pierrepont is reported to be ill, the most eager wishes are expressed for his death. No doubt but the *virtuous ministers* of Charles II. dreaded his abilities and integrity as they coveted his property: but supported by such connections as he was, they could not venture to attack him without some clear and strong information against him. That these harpies were disappointed in their project of extinguishing this eminent patriot and his family, and pouncing on their possessions, may then most likely be attributed to the constancy and discretion of Mrs. Hutchinson. But if this conjecture should appear satisfactory to our readers, it cannot but give them extraordinary pleasure to learn that the relicks of Col. Hutchinson's family have found in the representative of William Pierrepont, Earl Manvers, a friend and patron worthy that pristine faith and hereditary friendship which has now stood the test of two centuries.—It is not beside the purpose to remark here, that although Mrs. Hutchinson, all through her history, uses the utmost modesty, and abstains from all self-commendation, yet here, and in many other places, and the act of oblivion being past, she knew not why he should feare, who was resolv'd to doe nothing that might forfeit the grace he had found. But he told her it was determin'd that, if there were the least pretence in the world, the collonell should be imprison'd, and never be left loose againe; which warning, though others of his friends sayd it was but an effect of his wine, the consequence proov'd it but too true.

She advertis'd the collonell and perswaded him, being alsoe advis'd to the same by other friends, to go out of England, but he would not: he sayd this was the place where God had sett him, and protected him hitherto, and it would be in him an ungratefull distrust of God to forsake it.* At this time he would have sold

---

she necessarily and naturally proves herself to have possessed the most valuable qualities. Amongst those of women, it is not very common to count that firmness of mind and just sense of honour which made her disdain to serve her husband and children at the cost of others. To that enlarged system of education under which she was brought up, and to her reading of the classics, it is but fair to attribute, in some degree, the expansion and elevation of her mind.

* This is a pregnant instance of Col. Hutchinson's strong belief in the decrees of providence, and, at the same time, of his sincere conformity to them: it is much to be regretted that he adhered so minutely and literally to it,

part of his estate to pay his debts, but the purchasers scrupled, desireing to see his pardon, which he not having, was faine to breake of the treaty; and though all the friends he had labour'd it, the chancellor utterly refus'd it. There was a thousand pounds offer'd to one to procure it, but it was tried severall times and would not passe, by reason of which he was prevented of the oppertunity then to settle his estate; yet a yeare after a little sollicitor shufled it in among many others, and manag'd it so dexterously that it past all the seales. The collonell's estate being in mortgage with a peevish alderman, who had a designe upon it, to have bought it for little or nothing, he had a greate trouble with him; for having procur'd him his mony, he would not assigne the mortgage, and the others would not lend the mony without assignment from him, so that it put the collonell to many inconveniences and greate expence.

This parliament being risen, another was call'd by the king's writt, wherein the act of oblivion was againe confirm'd, not without some canvassing and opposition; and here

---

instead of making use of his own and his friends' discretion. He might well have lived to see the happy Revolution, and have returned and benefited his native country again by his spirit, wisdom, and experience.

againe another act about that mony of the Lord Lexington's was prepar'd and twice read in the house, through divers abominable untruths which they had forg'd and possest the members withall. The collonell himselfe sollicited his owne defence, and had all the iniustice and fowle play imaginable att the committee appoynted to examine it, and it was so desperate that all his friends perswaded him to compound it; but he would not, though his enemies offer'd it, but sayd, he would either be clear'd by a iust, or ruin'd by an uniust sentence, and, persuing it with his usual allacrity and vigor in all things, he at last remoov'd that prepossession that some of the gentlemen had against him, and clearing himselfe to some that were most violent, it pleas'd God to turne the hearts of the house at last to doe him iustice, and to throw out the bill for evermore, which was a greate mercy to him and his famely, for it was to have throwne him out of possession of all the estates he had, and to have put them into his enemies' hands till they had satisfied themselves; but the defending himselfe was very chargeable to him, and not only so, but this rumour of trouble upon his estate, and the braggs of his enemies, and the clowd he lay under, hinder'd him both from letting and selling, and improoving, his estate, so that it very much augmented his debt.

Before this time, in December 1660, Captaine Cooper sent one Broughton, a lieftenant, and Andrews a cornett, with a company of souldiers, who plunder'd his house at Owthorpe, while he was absent, of all the weapons they found in it, to his very wearing swords, and his owne armor for himselfe, although at that time there was no prohibition of any person whatsoever to have or weare arms. The collonell was not then at home, and the arms were layd up in a closet within his chamber, where they search'd, and all the house over, to see if they could have found plate or aniething else, but when they could not, they carried these away, which one of his servants, whom he had dismiss'd with a good reward, betrey'd to them. His eldest sonne went to the Marquesse of Newcastle, lord lieftenant of the county, and complain'd of the violence of the souldiers, and my lord gave him an order to have the swords and other things back, and some pistolls which were the Lord Biron's, but Mr. Cooper contemn'd my lord's order, and would not obey it. The arms were worth neere 100*l.*

Alsoe an order came downe from the secretary, commanding certeine pictures and other things the collonell had bought out of the late king's collection, which had cost him in ready mony between 1000*l.* and 1500*l.* and were of more vallue, and these, notwithstanding the act of oblivion, were all taken from him.

After these troubles were over from without, the collonell liv'd with all imaginable retirednesse att home, and, because his active spirit could not be idle nor very sordidly employ'd, tooke up his time in opening springs, and planting trees, and dressing his plantations; and these were his recreations, wherein he reliev'd many poore labourers when they wanted worke, which was a very comfortable charity to them and their famelies: with these he would entertain himselfe, giving them much encouragement in their honest labours, so that they delighted to be employ'd by him. His businesse was serious revolving the law of God, wherein he labour'd to instruct his children and servants, and enioy'd himselfe with much patience and comfort, not envying the glories and honors of the court, nor the prosperity of the wicked; but only griev'd that the streightnesse of his owne revenues would not supplie his large heart to the poore people in affliction. Some little troubles he had in his owne house. His sonne, unknowne to him, married a very worthy person*, with the manner of which he was so discontented that he once resolv'd to have banisht them for ever, but his good nature was soone overcome, and he receiv'd them into his bosome, and for the short time he enioy'd her had no lesse love for her then for any of his owne children. And indeed she was worthy of it, applying herselfe with such humble dutifullnesse and kindnesse to repaire her fault, and to please him in all the things he delighted in, that he was ravisht with the ioy of her, who lov'd the place not as his own wife did, only because she was plac'd in it, but with a naturall affection, which encourag'd him in all the paynes he tooke to adorne it, when he had one to leave it to that would esteeme it. She was besides naturalliz'd into his house and interests, as if she had had no other regard in the world; she was pious and chearfull, liberall and thrifty, complaisant and kind to all the famely, and the freest from humor of any woman, loving home, without melancholly or sullenesse, observant of her father and mother, not with regrett, but with delight, and the most submissive, affectionate wife, that ever was: but she, and all the ioy of her sweete, saintlike conversation, ended in a lamented grave, about a yeare after her marriage, when she died in childbirth, and left the sweetest babe behind her that ever was beheld, whose face promist all its mother's graces, but death within eight weeks after her birth ravisht this sweete blossome, whose fall open'd the fresh wounds of sorrow for her mother, thus doubly lost. While the mother liv'd, which was ten days after her delivery, the collonell and his wife employ'd all imaginable paynes and cares for her recovery, whereof they had often hopes, but in the end all in vaine; she died, and left the whole house in very sensible affliction, which continued upon the collonell and his wife till new stroakes awakened them out of the silent sorrow of this funerall. Her husband having no ioy in the world after she was gone, some months shut himselfe up with his griefe in his chamber, out of which he was hardly perswaded to goe, and when he did, every place about home so much renew'd the remembrance of her, he could not think of but with deepe affliction, that being invited by his friends abroad to divert his melancholly*, he grew a little out of love with home, which was a greate damping to the pleasures his father tooke in the place: but he, how eager soever he were in the love of any worldly thing, had that moderation of spiritt that he submitted his will alwayes to God, and endeavoured to give him thankes in all things.

---

* The daughter of Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, of the royalist party.

---

* Mr. Thomas Hutchinson did not marry again, but died without issue.

This winter, about October and the following months, the papists began to be very high, and a sort of strangers were come into Nottingham, who were observ'd to distinguish themselves by scarlett ribands in their hatts; and one night, in a drunken humor, a papist fired a hay barne in a wood yard in Nottingham, which, if not discover'd and prevented by many providences, might have endanger'd much of the towne: but it did 200*l.* worth of mischiefe; but the matter was shuffled up and compounded, allthough the same night severall other townes were attempted to be fired. A greate papist at Eastwold was knowne to assemble 200 men in armes in the night, and some of the Lord Carrington's tenants, that went to Arundell-house to speake with their landlord, observ'd very strange suspitious signes of some great businesse on foote among the papists, who, both in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, were so exalted, that the very country people every where apprehended some insurrection. Among the rest there was a light-headed debosht young knight, that liv'd next towne to Owthorpe, who vapour'd beyond all bounds, and had 12 paire of holsters for pistolls at one time of the collonell's sadler, and ridd at that time with half a douzen men armed, up and downe the country, and sent them, and went himselfe to severall men who had bene souldiers in the armie, to offer them brave termes to list under him, telling them, they, meaning the papists, should have a day for it. Besides he, with the parson of the parish, and some other men, at an alehouse, began a health to the confusion of all the protestants in England; and one of the collonell's maides going to Colson, to have a sore eie cured by a woman in the towne, heard there that he had vapour'd the papists should shortly have their day, and that he would not leave one allive in the collonell's house. He sent to the preacher of Cotgrove, to forbid him to preach on gunpowder-treason day, threatening to kill him if he did, insomuch that the towne were forc'd to keep a guard all that day upon the steeple.

The men whom the papists had endeavour'd to list, acquainted the collonell with it, whereof some being in Leicestershire, the collonell sent his sonne to Sr. George Villiers, one of the deputy lieftenants of that county, to acquaint him with it; but he slighted the matter, although at that time it would have bene proov'd that Golding brought a whole coach loaden with pistolls as many as they could stuffe under the seates and in the bootes, to the house of one Smith, a papist, dwelling at Quineborough, in Leicestershire. The collonell alsoe sent to the deputy leiftenants of our county to acquaint them the publick danger, and how himselfe was threatened; and, by reason that his house had bene disarm'd, desir'd that he might have leave to procure some necessary arms to defend it; but they sent him word that the insurrection of the papists was but a fanatique iealousie, and if he were afraid, they would send him a guard, but durst not allow him to arme his house. He disdaining their security that would not trust him with his owne, would have taken a house att Nottingham for his wife to lie in, who being then big with child, was neare her account; but although she were fearefull, yet when she found him resolv'd to stay in his owne house, she would not goe; whereupon he made strong shutts to all his low windores with iron barres, and that very night that they were sett up, the house was attempted to be broken in the night, and the glasse of one of the greate casements broken, and the little iron barrs of it crasht in sunder. Mrs. Hutchinson being late up heard the noyse, and thought somebody had bene forcing the doores, but as wee since heard, it was Golding who made the attempt. The common people every where falling into suspition of the papists, began to be highly offended at their insolence, and to mutter strange words; whither it were this, or what elce wee know not, but their designe proceeded no further; yett there is nothing more certeine then that at that time they had a designe of rising generally all over England in arms. But the collonell liv'd so retir'd, that he never understood how it was taken up, and how it fell of, yett although they would not take the allarum from him, even the gentlemen of the county afterwards believ'd they were hatching some mischiefe and fear'd it.

The collonell continued his usuall retirednesse all that winter, and the next summer, about the end of which he dreamt one night that he saw certeine men in a boate upon the Thames, labouring against wind and tide, to bring their boate, which stuck in the sands, to shore; att which he, being in the boate, was angrie with them, and told them they toyl'd in vaine, and would never effect their purpose; but say'd he, lett it alone and lett me try; whereupon he lay'd him downe in the boate, and applying his brest to the head of it, gently shoov'd it along, till he came to land on Southworke side, and there going out of the boate, walk'd in the most pleasant lovely fields, so greene and flourishing, and so embellisht with the cheerfull sunne that shone upon them, as he never saw aniething soe delightfull, and there he mett his father, who gave him certeine leaves of lawrell which had many words written in them which he could not read. The collonell was never superstitious of dreams, but this stuck a little in his mind, and we were therefore seeking applications of it, which proov'd nothing in the event, but that having afforded one, I know not whither the dreame might not be inspir'd. The boate representing the commonwealth, which severall unquiet people sought to enfranchise, by vaine endeavours, against wind and tide, parallelling the plotts and designes some impatient people then carried on without strength, or councell, or unity among themselves; his lying downe and shooving it with his breast, might signify the advancement of the cause by the patient suffering of the martyrs, among which his owne was to be eminent, and on the other side of the river to land him into walkes of everlasting pleasure, he dying on that shore, and his father's giving him these lawrell leaves with unintelligible characters, foretold him those triumphs which he could not read in his mortall estate; but to let dreames passe—

I cannot here omitt one story, though not altogether so much of the collonell's concerne, yet hap'ning this summer, not unworthy mention. Mr. Palmer, a certeine nonconformist preacher, was taken at his owne house in Nottingham by the maior of the towne, for preaching upon the Lord's day, and some others with him, (whereof one was formerly a servant of the collonell's, and had married one of his maydes,) and put into the towne's iayle, where they continued about two or three months. There being a grated window in the prison, that was almost even with the ground, and look'd into the streete, all people coming by, might see these poore people, kept in a damp ill-favour'd roome, where they patiently exhorted and chear'd one another. One Lord's day, after sermon-time, the prisoners were singing a psalme, and the people as they past up and downe, still when they came to the prison, stood still, till there were a greate many gather'd about the windore at which Mr. Palmer was preaching; whereupon the maior, one Toplady, who had formerly bene a parliament officer, but was now a renegado, came violently with his officers, and beate the people, and thrust some into prison that were but passing the streetes, kickt and pincht the men's wives in his rage, and was the more exasperated, when some of them told him, how ill his fury became him, who had once bene one of them. The next day, or few days after having given order the prisoners should every Lord's day after be lockt in the colehouse, he went to London and made information, I heard oath, to the councell, that a thousand of the country came in armed to the towne, and marcht to the prison window, to hear the prisoner preach; whereupon he procur'd an order for a troope of horse to be sent downe to quarter at Nottingham to keepe the fanatiques in awe. But one who had relation to the towne, being then at court, and knowing this to be false, certified to the contrary and prevented the troope. After the maior came downe, he was one night taken with a vomitting of blood, and being ill, call'd his man and his maid, who alsoe at the same time fell a bleeding, and were all ready to be choak'd in their owne blood, which at last stopping, they came to assist him; but after that he never lift up his head, but languisht a few months and died.

While these poore people were in prison, the collonell sent them some mony, and assoone as their time was expir'd, Mr. Palmer came to

Owthorpe to give him thankes, and preacht there one Lord's day.* Whither this were taken notice of is not evident, but within a short time after upon the Lord's day, the 11th of October, 1663, the collonell having that day finisht the expounding of the Epistle to the Romans to his household, and the servants being gone out of the parlour from him, one of them came in and told him souldiers were come to the towne. He was not at all surpriz'd, but stay'd in the roome till they came in, who were conducted by Atkinson, one of those Newark men, who had so violently before prosecuted him at the parliament, and he told the collonell he must goe along with them, after they had searcht the house; for which the collonell requir'd their commission, which at the first they say'd they need not shew, but after they shew'd him an order from Mr. Francis Leke, one of the deputy lieftenants, forthwith to repayre to his house, to search for and bring away what armes they could find, and to seize his person. All which they did, and found no armes in the house, but four birding gunns, that hung open in the kitchen, which being the young gentleman's, at that time they left. It was after sunsett when they came, and they were at least two howers searching every corner and all about the house, and the collonell was not at that time very well in health, and not having bene for six months before on horseback, had neither horses nor saddles at that time in the house; the coachman was alsoe gone away, and the coach-horses turned out, and it was as bitter, a stormie, pitchie, darke, blacke, raynie night, as anie that came that yeare; all which consider'd, the collonell desir'd that they would but stay for the morning light, that he might accommodate himselfe: but they would not, but forc'd him to goe then allong with them, his eldest sonne lending him a horse, and alsoe voluntarily accompanying him to Newark, where about foure of the clock in the morning, he was brought into the Talbott, and put into a most vile roome, and two souldiers kept guard upon him in that roome.

---

* This transaction is seemingly of small note; but will be found of the last importance to the parties concerned. By the declaration from Breda — " Liberty was granted " to tender consciences, and none were to be questioned " for difference of opinion in matters of religion, which do " not disturb the peace of the kingdom." But the parliament which was chosen after the restoration, and which consisted in a great degree of tories and high church men, encouraged and led on by the chancellor, passed several severe acts against all dissenters indiscriminately. Particularly one called, the Act of Uniformity, and this they followed up with an act forbidding non-conformists to frequent conventicles, under which probably Mr. Palmer was seized. As it had been declared that those who differed from the church could not fail to be enemies to the state, and that the fanatics, as they called them, resorted to these meetings under pretence of religion, but in reality to form and ripen plots and seditions, and that principally for this reason these acts were framed, this renegado very aptly introduced his thousand men in arms.

How far it was discreet in Col. Hutchinson at such a juncture to let this man preach at Owthorpe, on whom a mark had been set, is doubtful; it seems that, in general, he confined his religious opinions and worship to his own house, and was of course inoffensive, even to the captious government under which he lived.

The manner, time, and place of his being seized, demonstrate the falsehood of the legend contained in Throsby's edition of Thoroton's Nottinghamshire, of his long concealment in his own house, and at last being taken *coming home from church.*

And now what they ayl'd wee knew not, but they were all seiz'd with a panick feare, and the whole country fiercely allarum'd, and kept at Newark, many dayes at intollerable charges, and I thinke they never yett knew what they were sent for in to doe, but to guard Coll. Hutchinson; who being at first put into a roome that look'd into the streete, was remoov'd after into a back roome, worse, if worse could be, and so bad that they would not lett the Duke of Buckingham's footemen lodge in it: and here he continued, no man comming at him nor letting him know why he was brought in. The next day Mrs. Hutchinson sent him some linnen, and assoone as the man came, Tomson, the host of the inne, would not suffer him to see his master, but seiz'd him and kept him prisoner two days. Mr. Thomas Hutchinson had a mare which the inne-keeper had a desire to buy, and his father perswaded him to lett him have her worth mony, who thereupon agreed on the price, only Tomson desir'd him to lett him trie the mare six miles, which he condescended to, upon condition that if Tomson ridd the mare above six miles, he should pay the mony for her, and furnish Mr. Hutchinson with a horse home, or to my lord of Newcastle's, or any other occasion he had while he was at Newark. Upon this bargaine Tomson had the mare, but instead of going but six miles, led a greater partie of horse then those who first seiz'd the collonell to Owthorpe, and coming in after sunsett, to the affright of Mrs. Hutchinson and her children, againe searcht their house more narrowly if possible then at first, with much more insolent behaviour, allthough they found no more than at first; but they tooke away the birding gunns they had left before, and from Owthorpe went to Nottingham, where they tooke one Captaine Wright and Lieftenant Franck, who had bene Lambert's agitant-generall, and brought the poore men to Newark, where they are yett prisoners, and to this day know not why.*

---

* This shews that the confinement of these persons lasted still longer than Col. Hutchinson's, and likewise

Severall others were taken prisoners, among the rest one Whittinton, a lieftenant, who being carried to prison, "Coll. Hutchinson," say'd he, "hath betrey'd us all;" such were the base iealousies of our owne party over him, who because he was not hang'd at first, imagin'd and spoke among themselves all the scandalls that could be devis'd of him, as one that had deserted the cause, and lay private here in the country to trepan all the party, and to gather and transmitt all intelligence to the court, and a thousand such things, giving each other warning to take heed of comming neere him. Those who began to render him thus odious among his owne party, were the Lambertonians, in mallice because he had openly oppos'd their rebellious insolencies against the parliament. Frank and Whittington, &c. were of these, but the collonell would not put himselfe in hazard to rectifie their uniust thoughts, and had no resort of his owne friends, the soberer and honester men of the party; only, asmuch as the streights that were upon him would allow, when any of them were in distresse, would send them reliefe. Hereupon some, convinc'd of the iniu-

---

that this history was written while the events were still recent and fresh in the memory.

ries they did him, about this time sought to doe him right, in some meeting where one of the Buckingham's trapans was, and sayd he was unchang'd in his principles, which was all that ever I could heare was inform'd against him, but aniething would serve for those who sought a pretence.*

While the collonell was at Newark, Golding the papist, was a very busie fellow in spying, and watching his house at Owthorpe, and sending in frivolous stories, which amounted to nothing, but declaring his pittifull malice, as they that received it after told the collonell.

When Tomson came back, Mr. Hutchinson, out of the window, spied his owne gunne, which some of the men brought in, and soone understood that this rogue had made use of his owne horse to plunder him. At night Tomson, the host, came up into the collonell's chamber, and behav'd himselfe most insolently, whereupon the collonell snacht up a candlestick and lay'd him over the chaps with it, whereupon Mr. Leke, being in the house, and hearing the bustle, with others, came in with drawne swords, and the collonell tooke that opportunity to tell him, that he stood upon his iustification, and desired to know his crime and his accusers, and that till then he was content to be kept as safe as they would have him, but desir'd to be deliver'd out of the hands of that insolent fellow, and to have accommodation fitt for a gentleman; which when they saw he would not be without, for he would eate no more meate in that house, they after two days remov'd him to the next inne, where he was civilly treated, with guards still remaining upon him.

---

* The whole history of the reign of Charles the Second is filled with plots, real or imaginary, but mostly the latter: of all the engines of state, the most nefarious is that at this time much employed, of sham or pretended fomenters of sedition or *trepans,* who drew unwary persons either into some confederacy or expressions of discontent, and then gave information, probably heightened by invention. Many have thought the information given against Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney, whereon they were tried and condemned, was no better.

It was not passion which made the collonell doe this, for he was not at all angrie, but despis'd all the mallice of his enemies, but he having bene now foure dayes in Newark, Mr. Leke came every day to the house where he was kept by Leke's warrant, and never vouchsaf'd so much as to looke on him, but put him into the hands of a drunken insolent host, who dayly affronted him, which, if he would have suffer'd, he saw would be continued upon him; therefore knowing that Leke was then in the house, he tooke that occasion to make him come to him, and thereupon obtain'd a remoove to an accommodation more befitting a gentleman.

While he was at the other inne, severall gentlemen of the king's party came to him, some whom he had knowne, and some whom he had never seene, complementing him, as if he had not bene a prisoner, which he very much admir'd att, and could yett never understand, for by his former usage he saw it was not their good nature; but whither this carriage of his had made them believe innocency was the ground of his confidence, or whither the appearance of his greate spiritt had made them willing to obliege him, or whither even his vertue had strucken them with a guilty dread of him, though a prisoner, certeine it is, that some who had bene his greatest enemies, began to flatter with him, whereupon, in a Bible he carried in his pockett, and markt upon all occasions, he mark'd that place, Prov. xvi. 7. "when a man's wayes please the Lord, he mak-"eth his enemies to be at peace with him."

The 19th of October, Mr. Leke, with a party of horse, carried the collonell to the Marquesse of Newcastle's, who treated him very honorably; and then falling into discourse with him, "Collonell," sayth he, "they "say you desire to know your accusers, which

" is more than I know:" And thereupon very freely shew'd him the Duke of Buckingham's letter, commanding him to imprison the collonell, and others, upon suspition of a plott, which my lord was so fully satisfied the collonell was innocent of, that he dismist him without a guard to his owne house, only engaging him to stay there one weeke, till he gave account to the counsell, upon which he was confident of his liberty. * The collonell

---

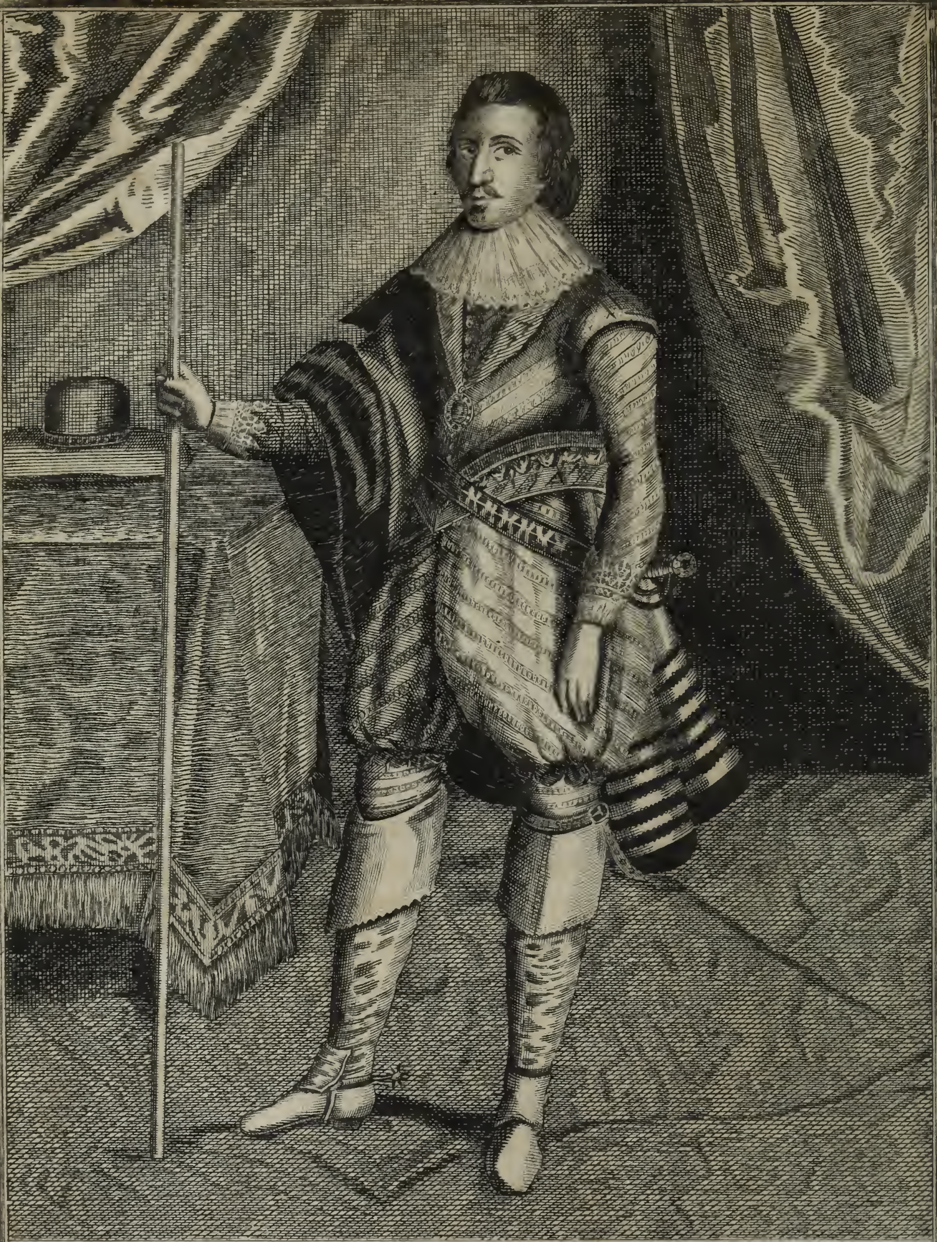
* Here shines out the genuine spirit of a noble Briton! This was the same man, who commanding a host, against which the forces Col. Hutchinson had to defend Nottingham Castle with, were but as a dwarf before a giant, yet saw his fidelity to be proof against both danger, and the temptation of great rewards, and had generosity enough to see and value virtue in an adversary; he well knew that such a person as the colonel, was safer in the keeping of his own honour than all the guards or prisons of his enemies. Who can fail to regret that such a man should have been so long the dupe of his loyalty to the Stuarts, and above all that he should have to receive mandates from the infamous sycophants of Charles the Second! If a man were inevitably to be persecuted, it made much for his honour, and somewhat for his satisfaction, to have two men of such opposite characters as Newcastle and Buckingham, the one for his protector, the other for his persecutor.

Of Buckingham we shall again have occasion to speak.

As we shall not again see any thing more of this *truly noble* man, the Marquis of Newcastle, we take this opportunity to cite, from a tradition preserved by Deering, in his History of Nottingham, that, at the time of the thus dismist, came home, and upon the 22d day of October, a party of horse, sent only with a wretched corporall, came about 11 of the clock with a warrant from Mr. Leke, and fetcht him back to Newark, to the inne where he was before, Mr. Twentimans, who being still civill to him, whisper'd him assoone as he allighted, that it was determined he should be close prisoner; whereupon the collonell say'd he would no more pay any centinells that they sett upon him, yett they sett two hired souldiers, having now dismist the county,

---

great revolution, another Cavendish, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Devonshire, together with Lord Delamere, son of that Sir George Booth whose life and fortunes Col. Hutchinson preserved, together with Col. Hutchinson's half-brother, and others of that country, set up their standard at Nottingham; there waked again the soul of liberty and patriotism, which had slept ever since Col. Hutchinson's days, and causing the trumpet to sound to arms, and telling the inhabitants a Stuart was at hand with all his army, saw the whole people fly to arms, some on horseback, some on foot, with all the various weapons they could find, march all as one man to meet him, and take their determined stand at that pass of the Trent where their old governor had repeatedly fought and conquered, and whose spirit they imagined to hover over and inspire them with its wonted energy. Having thus tried their temper, he committed to the guard of these true-born sons of freedom, that princess (Anne) who was to carry the British name to its highest pitch of glory.



The True and Lively Pourtraicture of the Right Noble
and Gracious Prince George Duke Marques and Earle
of Buckingham Earle of Coventrey Viſecount Villers
Barron of Whaddon Lord high Admiral of England
Lord Chiefe Justice in Eyre of all his Ma^{ties} Forests
Parks and Chase beyond the River of Trent M^{r} of his
Ma^{tie} Horse Knight of the most noble order of the garter and one of his
Marhr D ſculpsit Ma^{ties} most honou[rable] Privie Counsell

From an extra rare Print, by Droeshout.
Publish'd 1810. by W^{m} Richardson Jun^{r} York House, Strand.

but the collonell forbade the inne to give them any drinke, or aniething elce upon his account. The next day, being the 23d, Mr. Leke came to him, and shew'd him a letter from my Lord Newcastle, wherein my lord writt that he was sorry he could not persue that kindnesse he intended the collonell, believing him innocent, for that he had receiv'd a command from Buckingham to keepe him close prisoner, without pen, inke, or paper; and to shew the reality of this, with the order he sent a copie of the duke's letter, which was alsoe shew'd the collonell; and in it was this expression, "*that though he could not* "*make it out as yett, he hop'd he should* "*bring Mr. Hutchinson into the plott.*" Mr. Leke having communicated these orders to Mr. Hutchinson, told him he was to goe to London, and should leave him in the charge of the maior of Newark.

Because here is so much noyse of a plott, it is necessary to tell what it hath since appear'd. The Duke of Buckingham sett a worke one Gore, sheriffe of Yorkshire, and others, who sent out trepanners among the discontented people, to stirre them to insurrection to restore the old parliament, gospell ministry, and English liberty, which specious things found very many ready to entertaine them, and abundance of simple people were caught in the nett; whereof some lost their lives, and others fled.* But the collonell had no hand in it, holding himselfe oblig'd at that time to be quiet. It is true he still suspected insurrections of the papists, and had secur'd his house and his yards, better then it was the winter before, against any suddain night assaults.

After Mr. Leke was gone, the maior, one Herring, of Newark, a rich, but simple fellow, sent the iaylor to Mr. Hutchinson, to tell him he must goe to his house; which the collonell refusing to doe voluntarily, without a mittimus from some magistrate, the maior sent five constables and two souldiers, who, by violence, both forc'd the collonell out of his quarters, and into the iayle without any legall committment, although the collonell warn'd both the iaylor and the men of the danger of the law, by this illegall imprisonment. The collonell would not advance att all into the prison, into which the men would faine have entreated him; but when they saw they could not perswade, they violently thrust him in, where the iaylor afterwards used him pretty civilly: but the roome being unfitt for him, he gott cold and fell very sick, when, upon the 27th of October, Mr. Leke, with the marquesses secretary, came to him, and found him soe, and acquainted him, that the marquesse had receiv'd expresse orders from the king, to send him up in safe custody to London. Mr. Leke finding him so ill, was so civill to permitt him to goe by his owne house, which was as neere a roade, that he might there take accommodations for his iourney, and be carried up at more ease, in his owne coach, Mr. Leke himselfe being necessitated to make more haste then he could have done, if he had stay'd for the party that was to guard the collonell, went away before, and left his orders for sending him away with Mr. Atkinson, who first seiz'd him. The same 27th day, att night, his house at Owthorpe was againe searcht, and he and his wife being abroad, all their boxes and cabinetts broken open, and all their papers rifled, but yet for all this they could find nothing to colour their iniustice to him.

---

* Rapin speaks slightly and cursorily of this, under the name of the Northern Plot; but plainly shews that some of the principal persons pretended to have been concerned in it, neither were nor could be.

Having bene falsely and illegally imprison'd, from six of the clock on Friday night the 23d of October, till ten of the clock in the morning October the 28th, he was then, in order to his going to London, brought by Beek the iaylor, to Twentimans the inne, from whence he was hal'd, to stay there till a commanded party of the county horse came to guard him to London. But one division of the county who had warrants sent them, not comming in, Atkinson sent into that part where the collonell liv'd, and his owne neighbours comming slowly and unwillingly to that service, he was forc'd to stay there all that day till night in the custody of the iaylor. At night, when he was in bed, the maior, being drunke, commanded him to be carried back to the iayle, but the iaylor, weary of his drunken commands, sat up with two souldiers, and guarded him in the inne.

The next day the partie not being come in, a meane fellow, that was appoynted to command the collonell's guard, one Corporall Willson, came and told him that he must not goe by his owne house, nor have the privelledge of his coach, but be carried up another way; whereupon the collonell sent to Atkinson, to desire him he might not be denied that civillity Mr. Leke had allowed him; but he was so peevish and obstinate that the collonell was sending his sonne post to the Marquisse of Newcastle's to complaine of his mallitious inhumanity, who would have forc'd him on horseback without any accommodation, when he was so ill that he could not have ridden one stage without manifest hazard of his life: and yet Mr. Cecill Cooper and Mr. Whally, though iustices and deputy lieftenants, could not prevaile with him, till he saw the collonell as resolute as himselfe: and then at last, by their mediation, (wherein Mr. Cecill Cooper did soomething redeeme his former causelesse hatred, which made him plunder the house, and deteine the plunder when it was order'd back), the collonell, about sunsett, was sent out of Newark, with those horse that were come in, to stay for the rest at his owne house. Being driven in the night by an unskillfull coachman, the coach was overturn'd and broken; but about 12 of the clock at night they came safe home. Thus the collonell tooke his last leave of Newark, which being a place he had formerly subdued, and replete with so many mallitious enemies to the whole party, and more particularly to him, upon no other account but that he had bene the most formidable protector of the other party in this country, he expected farre worse treatment from the generallity of the towne; who were so farre from ioyning in ioy of his captivity, that when he was forc'd through their streets they gave him very civill respect, and when he came away civill farewells, and all mutter'd exceedingly at their maior, and say'd he would undoe their towne by such simple illegall proceedings. The collonell regarded all these civillities from the towne, who were generally much concern'd in his iniuries, and from Cooper and others, not as of themselves, but as from God, who at that time overaw'd the hearts of his enemies, as once he did Laban's and Esau's, and was much confirm'd in the favour of God thereby, and nothing at all daunted at the mallice of his prosecutors, but went as cheerefully into captivity as another would have come out of it.

They were forc'd to stay a day at Owthorpe, for the mending of the coach and comming in of the souldiers, where the collonell had the opertunity to take leave of his poore labourers, who wept all bitterly when he pay'd them of, but he comforted them and smil'd, and without any regrett went away from his bitterly weeping children, and servants, and tenants, his wife and his eldest sonne and daughter going with him, upon Saturday the 31st of October.

Golding, the night before he went, had sent him a pot of marmalade to eat in the coach, and a letter to desire all grutches might be forgotten, and high flattering stuffe, by his man that was to be one of the guard, which he say'd he had chosen out the best he had, and his best horse, and if he did not pay him all respect he would turne him away; and as the collonell came by his doore, came out with wine, and would faine have brought him into the house to eate oysters, but the collonell only drank with him, and bid him friendly farewell, and went on, not guarded as a prisoner, but waited on by his neighbours. Mrs. Hutchinson was exceedingly sad, but he encouraged and kindly chid her out of it, and told her it would blemish his innocence for her to appeare aflicted, and told her if she had but patience to waite the event, she would see it all for the best, and bade her be thankfull for the mercy that she was permitted this comfort to accompany him in the journey, and with divers excellent exhortations chear'd her who was not wholly abandon'd to sorrow, while he was with her, who, to divert her, made himselfe sport with his guards, and deceiv'd the way, till upon the 3d of November he was brought to the Crown, in Holborne. From thence, the next day, he was carried by Mr. Leke to the Tower, and committed there close prisoner, by warrant, signed by Secretary Bennett the 20th of October, whereby he stood committed for treasonable practises, though he had never yett bene examin'd by any magistrate, one or other. His wife, by his command, restrein'd herselfe as much as she could from shewing her sadnesse, whom he bad to remember how often he had told her that God never preserv'd him so extraordinarily at first, but for some greate worke he had further for him to doe or to suffer in this cause, and bad her be thankefull for the mercy by which they had so long in peace enioy'd one another, since this eminent change, and bad her trust God with him; whose faith and chearefullnesse were so encouraging that it a little upheld her; but alas! her devining heart was not to be comforted: she remembred what had been told her of the cruell resolutions taken against him, and saw now the execution of them.

On Friday, Nov. the 6th, he was sent for by Secretary Bennett, to his lodgings at Whitehall, which was the first time he was examin'd, and the questions he asked him were: — 1st. "Where "he had liv'd this four or five months?" To which he answer'd, "Constantly at home, at his own "house in Nottinghamshire." 2d. "What com-"pany used to resort to his house?" He told him, "None, not so much as his nearest relations, "who scarce ever saw him." 3d. "What com-"pany he frequented?" He told him, "None, "and that he never stirr'd out of his owne house "to visitt any." Bennett sayd, "That was "very much." 4th. "Whither he knew Mr. "Henry Nevill?" He answer'd, "Very well." 5th. "When he saw him?" He sayd, "To "his best remembrance never since the king "came in." 6th. "When he writt to him?" He sayd, "Never in his life." 7th. "When "Mr. Nevill writt to him?" He sayd, "Never." 8th. "Whither any messages had past between "them?" He sayd, "None at all." 9th. "Whither none had moov'd aniething to him "concerning a republique?" He sayd, "He "knew none so indiscreet." 10th. "What "children he had?" He sayd, "Foure sonnes "and foure daughters." 11th. "How old his "sonnes were? He sayd, "Two were at men's "estate, and two little children." 12th. "Whither his sonnes had not done aniething to "iniure him?" He replied, "Never that he "knew of, and he was confident they had not." 13th. "Where he went to church to heare devine "service, common prayer?" He sayd, "No "where, for he never stirr'd out of his owne "house." 14th. "Whither he heard it not "read there?" He answer'd, "To speake in"genuously, No." 15th. "How he then did for "his soule's comfort?" He replied, "Sr. I "hope you leave me that to account betweene "God and my owne soule." Then Bennett told him his answers to these had cut him of of many questions he should have asked, and he might returne. So he was carried back to the Tower with only two of the warders which brought him thither.*

---

* What will the reader think of this examination when he

'Not long after one Waters was brought prisoner out of Yorkshire, a fellow of a timorous spiritt, who being taken, was in so greate a feare, that he accus'd many, guilty and not guilty, to save himselfe; caus'd his owne wife to be put in prison, and hang'd the dearest friend he had in the world, and brought his wives brother into the same danger; some say through feare, others that he was a trepanner from the begining, for he drew in all

---

is reminded, or, if he knew it not before, is informed, that this gentleman, who is so anxious for the welfare of Col. Hutchinson's soul, and so earnest for his frequenting the church, was himself a concealed papist, and privy to the king's being so too! It is necessary to be here observed, that upon the publication of the act of uniformity a very great number of the parochial clergy quitted their benefices, and were replaced by others. It is highly probable this would be the case at Owthorpe; and it was a very natural consequence of it that Col. Hutchinson should absent himself from his church: where, although he had heretofore taken much pains to get a good minister established and his salary augmented, he had now to expect, instead of spiritual comfort, such pulpit railings as he had been assailed with at Nottingham. Accordingly, he performed the worship of God in his own family, much as a Protestant father of a family would have done in a Catholic country. And the history informs us he was so occupied when the soldiers came to seize him: but it was prudent to say nothing of this to the *secretary confessor!*

Mr. Nevil, whom he speaks of, made a considerable figure in the latter times of the long parliament, as a staunch republican, a man of strict integrity, and a steady opposer of all the usurpations.

the people whom he accus'd. Whatever he were, he was so utter a stranger to Coll. Hutchinson, that he never saw his face; yett that day he was examin'd at Whitehall, Coll. Hutchinson was in greate haste fetcht away from his dinner at the Tower, and told he should be examin'd in the king's owne hearing; which he was very glad of; and, with greate haste and formallity and strictnesse he was carried by the deputy lieftenant and a strong guard by water from the Tower to Whitehall; and when he came to land at Whitehall stairs, one Andrews, an officer, with two files of musketeers, was ready to receave him, and led him to Bennett's lodgings, where he observ'd a greate deale of care to place the guard at the outward doore in the court, and to keepe the chamber doore continually shutt, that none might peepe in, but a few gentlemen who were admitted to come now and then and stare him in the face at the doore, but none were in the roome for a long space but Andrews and himselfe, till at the last his keeper thrust in. The collonell, having stay'd two howers, concluded that he should now be confronted by some accuser, or at least have an examination more tending to treasonable practices then his first seemed to doe, especially understanding that Mr. Waters had bene many howers before in the house, and was yett there. But at last, *parturiunt montes!* and out comes Secretary Bennett!

who taking him to a window apart from Mr. Andrews and the keeper, most formally begins thus: "Mr. Hutchinson, you have now bene some "dayes in prison, have you recollected yourselfe "any more to say then when I last spoke to "you?" Mr. Hutchinson answer'd, "He had "nothing to recollect, nor more to say." "Are "you sure of that?" sayd the secretary. "Very "sure," sayd Mr. Hutchinson. "Then," sayd Bennett, "you must return to prison." And accordingly he was carried by the same guard back againe to the Tower, where he was kept with a greate deale of strictnesse, and some weekes before his wife was admitted to see him; for whom, at the last, Sr. Allen Apsley procur'd an order that she might visitt him, but they limitted it that it must not be but in the presence of his keeper. The lieftenant, in hope of a fee, gave leave that her sonne and daughter might goe into the roome with her, who elce must have stood without doores; but he would not permit her to take lodgings in the Tower, which, being in a sharpe winter season, put her to greate toyle and inconvenience, besides excessive charge of providing his meate att the Tower, and her company in another place: meanwhile he was kept close prisoner, and had no ayre allow'd him, but a payre of leads over his chamber, which were so high and cold he had no benefitt by them: and every night he had three doores shutt upon him, and a centinell at the outmost. His chamber was a roome where 'tis sayd the two young princes, King Edward the Fifth and his brother were murthered in former dayes, and the roome that led to it was a darke greate roome, that had no windore in it, where the portcullis to one of the inward Tower gates was drawn up and lette downe, under which there sate every night a court of guard. There is a tradition, that in this roome the Duke of Clarence was drown'd in a but of malmsey; from which murther, this roome and that adioyning it where Mr. Hutchinson lay, was called the Bloody Tower. Betweene Mr. Hutchinson's chamber and the dark roome there was a doore, which Mr. Hutchinson desir'd the lieftenant might be left open in the night, because it left a little necessary-house open to the chamber, which he and his man had occasion of in the night, having gotten fluxes with their bad accommodations and diet: but the lieftenant would not allow it him, allthough, when that was open, there were two doores more shutt upon him, and he could not have any way attempted any escape, but he must, if it had bene possible to worke through the walls, have fallen upon a court of guard.

Notwithstanding all this strictnesse, which was exercised alsoe to most of the other prisoners, yet their owne centinells hated the lieftenant, and his Cerberus, Cressett, because they cheated them, and had nothing of generosity or bounty to engage the hearts of their souldiers, who, seeing so much of their wickednesse, abhorr'd them, and pittied the poore gentlemen that were so barbarously used by them ; and whether out of humanity, or necessity, or villany, I know not, but they would offer the prisoners many curtesies, and convey letters betweene them. Mr. Hutchinson was never so imprudent to trust any of them with his, having within an hower of his imprisonment bene instructed by another prisoner a safer and more convenient way ; yet was it their interest to use courteously all those that offer'd themselves to doe them service. Among the rest, as he was one day sitting by the fire, the centinell at the doore peept in his head and call'd to him: "Sir," sayd he, "God blesse you ! I have some-"times guarded you in another manner at the "parliament-house, and am griev'd to see the "change of your condition, and only take this "employment now, to be more able to serve "you, still hoping to see you restor'd to what I "have seene you." The collonell, not turning his head, told the man, that language suited not the coate he wore, bade him mind his present duty, and told him he had no employment of his service. "Well," sayd the souldier, "I perceive, "Sir, you dare not trust me, but my Lady Vane "and my Lady Lambert know me, and if you "have any service to command me to them, I

" will bring you a testimony from them." The collonell tooke no more notice of him, but the fellow, officious, or hoping to gett mony, went to my Lady Lambert's house, and told her that he had formerly bene her husband's souldier, and that he wisht his restitution, and that he us'd sometimes to guard the prisoners, and would carry her letters to any of them, and that he had bene centinell lately at Collonell Hutchinson's chamber, and would carry any thing she would send to him. She only bade him remember her service to him, and tell him she wisht him liberty; and the fellow flattering her with professing his love to her lord, she expresst some pleasure with his speeches, and gave him some mony; which her daughter considering, assoone as he was gone out told her that she had done unwarily to open herselfe so much to one of the souldiers in present employment, whom she did not know but he might be sett on purpose to trapan her. My lady, to prevent any inconvenience of her error, thought it the best way to goe immediately and complaine that one of the souldiers had come to her to trapan her, under coulour of a message from Coll. Hutchinson, which she had not entertain'd; and desir'd they might not be allow'd in anie such thing, protesting her owne loyalty and readinesse to discover any that were false to them. This was extreamely well represented of her at the court, and as ill of Coll. Hutchinson, that he had not done the like; and Coll. Leg, whose companie it was that then had the guard of the Tower, was commanded to find out and punish this souldier, who, it proov'd after, was a good honest fellow, and was the only protestant in that companie, the rest being most of them Irish and papists, and some rebells. This poore fellow, having bene a parliament souldier, listed among them to get a living, but was very tender-hearted to the prisoners, and had a desire to do them kindnesse. Hereupon he came to the collonell's man and desired his master would not owne him, and that he would send to my Lady Lambert to doe the same, which the collonell did: but when she was sent to by him, she sent a maid to see all the souldiers, who own'd the man, and he was put in prison, and cashier'd and undone, for nothing but offering his service to have done the prisoners slight services; and Coll. Hutchinson was ill thought of att the court, because when Coll. Leg brought his men under the windore of his prison, and came up to Mr. Hutchinson and desir'd him to view them all, he would not accuse any of them, which if he had, he would not only have cutt of his owne, but all the other prisoners' wayes of sending to their friends abroad; yet he never made use of this fellow, nor any of them, in any businesse of trust, allthough he thought it not good to discourage any that appear'd to wish them well, among so many bloody murtherers as they were given up to.

The collonell endured his prison patiently till the triall of those they call'd conspirators in Yorkshire was over; but when he had layne from November till Candlemasse terme in prison, he sent his wife to Secretary Bennett to desire that such persons as had businesse with him might have the liberty to come to him. She had before bene with some of the privie councell who were her husband's friends and allies, to complain of his uniust imprisonment, and his harsh usage there, contrary to all law, from the beginning to the ending, even their owne lawes, and they had told her that they were sensible of it, but that they only stood for ciphers, while the chancellor and Bennett manag'd all things without their privity, in most oppressive and illegal wayes.* She, as she was advis'd, went therefore to Bennett and told him that, by reason of some engagements for mony her husband

---

* It was thought better to bring together here several observations relating to Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and chancellor: Bennet, Earl of Arlington, and secretary; and Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham. The first is well known, from his history and letters, to have been an unreasonable enemy to Presbytery and Presbyterians: which prejudice induced him to persuade his royal master, whose confidence for a great length of time he almost entirely engrossed, to violate all his promises to them, though gratitude as well as honour should have made him keep them. About this time his credit began to diminish by the introduction of Bennet to be secretary of state, instead of Nicholas, who was the particular friend of

---

Hyde. But at the period here spoken of this had taken effect but partially, and not enough to furnish for those who were oppressed by the one a succour in the opposition of the other; nor does there appear much reason to hope for moderation in either. Who it was of the privy council that gave Mrs. Hutchinson her information cannot be conjectured; but there is no doubt that the too great ascendancy of the chancellor did, no long time after, cause him to be impeached in parliament, and accused of all the misconduct of many years. It was in vain that he endeavoured, in the written defence he sent to the parliament, to distribute the odium among the council in general: the information here given to Mrs. Hutchinson obtained general belief; he was condemned, and died in banishment. He very justly, in the same writing, attributes a good deal of the hatred and bitterness which prevailed against him to his many refusals of setting the seal to pardons and other indulgencies. When, among the speakers against him, we see the names of Maynard, St. John, Hampden, and Prynne *, we may well conclude that these men, though they had a little temporized, were glad to assist in the downfal of the man who had persecuted the more zealous of their former associates, and pleased to see him sue for that clemency which his own former severity gave him good reason to despair of. — Bennet was several years after impeached, together with Buckingham, the same who first entrapped and caused Col. Hutchinson to be seized, and whose infamous letter the Marquis of Newcastle showed the colonel. On this occasion Buckingham employed his usual treachery, and criminated the earl, who was fain to save himself from the indignation of the parliament by a total change of conduct; by practising the hypocrisy he had recommend-

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 648.

had upon his estate, this very close imprisonment had bene infinitely preiudiciall to

---

ed to Col. Hutchinson of frequenting the communion of a church he was averse to, and persecuting the Papists, whom he had protected, and wished to protect. On account of his conduct a strict inquiry was made by the commons concerning the commitment of persons by order of council, and amendments were made in the Habeas Corpus act; which, if they had existed in the colonel's time, would have preserved him from his long and unjust imprisonment. — Buckingham, after bringing the family of Fairfax to extinction by marrying and slighting his daughter, heightening and exposing his master's vices, and passing his whole life in playing, by countless alternations, the parts of traitor and sycophant, died in disgrace and beggary; and, to sum all up in that which to him would be the greatest suffering, his memory remains hung up to ridicule in the chains of never-dying satire by Pope, in some of the best lines he has written.

To those who believe in the peculiar interposition of God in human affairs, as our author did, it must be very striking, and to her, if she lived to witness it, highly gratifying, to observe this course of events. Mr. Hutchinson's three great enemies, Buckingham, Clarendon, and Arlington, ruin each other; and two of them, Clarendon and Arlington, without the design of doing any thing so good, laid the foundations of an alliance which furnished the assertors of British liberty and toleration with a champion who overthrew (it is hoped never to rise again) despotism in church and state: for Clarendon obtained of Charles the Second to constrain his brother to marry his daughter, whom he had dishonoured: she brought him the Princesses Mary and Anne, successively queens of England; and Bennet, Earl of Arlington, to gain himself popularity in a moment of need, first proposed the match between Mary and the Prince of Orange, afterwards William the Third!

him, both his tenants and his creditors taking advantages of his incapacitie, by reason of his close restreint, to defend himselfe, or to speake with lawyers or others about affaires that neerely concern'd his estate, besides the neglect of all his businesse, and the intollerable charge and inconvenience of his disorder'd famely, disperst into three severall places, which would suddenly bring ruine upon his whole famely, besides the destruction of his health. Bennett told her, her husband was a very unfortunate person in regard of his former crimes. She told him, she had rather hoped he had bene happie in being compriz'd in the act of oblivion, which allow'd him not to be remember'd as a criminall, and that she had chosen to make her addresses to him, in this occasion, because some of the councell had told her the king left all the management of these things to him. He was very urgent with her to know who it was that inform'd her that he was the sole actor in these businesses; but she desir'd to be excus'd for naming any author in that thing, which she had not mention'd but that she thought it his honor to owne: but he told her, he would not move for any more liberty for her husband then he had, unlesse he could be secur'd it might be done with more safety so his maiesty then he could apprehend it. "But," sayd he, "Mrs. Hutchinson, I have some papers "of yours which I would shew, not to examine

" you, but to see whether you will informe me " aniething of them." She told him she had curiosity enough to see aniething that past under her name; whereupon he call'd forth his man, who brought out a greate bundle of papers, call'd examinations, taken at Grantham, of passages betweene Mrs. Hutchinson and Mrs. Vane. First he shew'd her a character which contein'd ciphers for the names of many gentlemen and weomen who were not very distant neighbours, with others whom she knew not at all. She told him she understood nothing att all of that paper; then he turn'd downe the rest, and shew'd her a letter, beginning, " My deare Amaranta;" which she told him she knew not att all. " But," sayd he, " you will yet owne your owne hand;" and shew'd her among these papers the copie of the letter that was sent to the house of parliament in her husband's name, written in her hand, which when she saw she was a little confounded, wondering how it should come into his hands; but she told him that she could not absolutely say that was her writing, though it had some resemblance; and so when she had againe urg'd the businesse she came for, and could obteine nothing from him, she went away, and left in the roome with the secretary Sr. Robert Biron, a cousin-german of her husband's, who was by chance come in thither upon some businesse of his owne, and had stood by while she urg'd to the secretary the mischiefe and ruine her husband's imprisonment brought upon his famely and estate. Assoone as she was gone the secretary told Sr. Robert that he had heard Mrs. Hutchinson relate the sad condition of her husband and his house; " and," sayd he " you may hear take notice how " the iustice of God pursues those murtherers, " that, though the king pardon'd both his life " and estate, by the hand of the devine iustice " they were now like to come to ruine for that " crime :" which words being told Mr. Hutchinson, he laught much at the simple folly of the man, that could call his owne illegall persecutions and oppressions of innocence the iudgements of God. The papers which he shew'd Mrs. Hutchinson she after learnt to have been some letters betweene Mrs. Vane, one of Sr. Henry Vane's daughters, and one Mrs. Hutchinson, a gentlewoman that us'd to come thither, fill'd with such frivolous intelligence of private amours and intrigues as young people use to communicate to their confidents, and such as any wise statesman would have believ'd himselfe affronted to have had brought to him, and not made such pollitick enquiries, and imprison'd those with whom they were found, about so unconcerning a matter.

Mr. Henry Nevill and Mr. Salloway had bene put into the Tower about the same suspition they had of Mr. Hutchinson, a northerne plott, for which there was a peculiar assizes, and some men were executed; and the iudges, at their returne, sayd that their confessions allmost amounted to treason; but that allmost serv'd their turnes. Assoone as those assizes were past, Mr. Hutchinson sent to Mr. Nevill and Mr. Salloway that he thought it now time for them to endeavour their liberty, and therefore desir'd to know what course they intended to proceed in, that they might all take one way. They both sent Mr. Hutchinson word that they look'd upon him as the best befriended, and they were resolv'd to see first what successe he had, and to make him their leading card. Hereupon he, fearfull to doe aniething that they could not, sate still deliberating, while they, without giving him the least notice, wrought their owne liberties secretly, Mr. Nevill desiring to travell, and Mr. Salloway making such a false, flattering petition, that no honest man could make such another, and a lesse after his would have but more exasperated. It tooke so, that immediately he had his liberty, both of them taking some oathes to confirme their loyalty, which were given them by the clearke of the Tower.* They had a mind at court Mr. Hutchinson should have made such another petition, and therefore Salloway's was shew'd to a friend of his; the words of which were, "That since God by his miraculous pro-"vidence had set his majestie over us, he had "acquiesc'd thankefully under it, and never, "not so much as in thought, made a wish against "it;" and promises of the like nature: which perhaps were no truer than the professions, for they were utterly false; for at his first coming into the Tower no man had mutter'd more then he, who scarce refrein'd even blasphemies against God himselfe for bringing him into bondage. After his release he went to their common prayer, and pleas'd them so well that 'twas sayd they would give him an office. But when they found that, notwithstanding their hint, Mr. Hutchinson would not follow his example, their mallice grew very bitter against him at the court, insomuch that a gentleman having treated with Mrs. Hutchinson for a neice of his, to whom he was guardian, that would have bene a convenient fortune for her sonne, the chancellor sent for the gentleman and peremptorily forbade him to proceed in the affaire*, and openly sayd, "*he* "*must keepe their famely downe.*"

---

* Mr. Nevil, as just before mentioned, had acted with steadiness and integrity; Mr. Salloway had been more variable, and was successively of the council of state, of the rump parliament, of the committee of safety, and council of officers.

---

* What base and atrocious malice! yet this was the virtuous Lord Clarendon! This method of alternately persecuting those whom they suspect, and suspecting those they persecute, has for ever been the practice of bad ministers,

Mr. Hutchinson was not at all dismay'd, but wonderfully pleas'd with all these things, and told his wife this captivity was the happiest release in the world to him; for before, allthough he had made no express engagement, yet, in regard his life and estate had bene freely left him, when they tooke away others, he thought himselfe oblig'd to sitt still all the while this king reign'd, whatever opertunity he might have; but now he thought this usage had utterly disobleig'd him from all ties either of honour or conscience, and that he was free to act as prudence should hereafter lead him, and that he thought not his liberty out of prison worth the purchase by any future engagement, which would againe fetter him in obligations to such persons as every day more and more manifested themselves enemies to all iust and godly interests. He therefore charg'd his wife that she should not make applications to any person whatsoever, and made it his earnest request to Sr. Allen Apsley to let him stand and fall to his owne innocency, and to undertake nothing for him, which, if he did, he told him he would disowne. Mrs. Hutchinson, remembering how much she had displeased him in saving him before, submitted now to suffer with

---

and has for ever created rebels, and will for ever continue to create new ones in the place of those they destroy.

him, according to his own will*, who, as he would doe nothing that might entangle him for his freedome, so he patiently suffer'd their uniust bondage, and had no guilt found in him; yet was cruelly and mallitiously persecuted and hated, and criminalls, with threats and promises, were tried all wayes to see if they could have brought out any accusation against him, but all they could arrive to was only that he was an unchang'd person, yet they kept him still as close prisoner as at the first. After Salloway was releas'd, Sr. Allen Apsley asking the chancellor why his brother was not as well let out as Salloway; "What!" sayd the chancellor; "make "you no difference betweene your brother and "Salloway?" Sr. Allen replied, he thought his brother as innocent. "Surely," sayd the chancellor, "there is a greate difference: Salloway "conforms to the government, and goes to "church, but your brother is the most unchang'd "person of the party."

The collonell at last with some other prisoners were deliberating to sue out a Habeas

---

* There does not appear reason for supposing that Col. Hutchinson had any distinct prospect of manifesting his sentiments with effect, nor can these declarations be accounted for upon any principle but that of general disdain. The complete and generous attachment of Mrs. Hutchinson deserves a higher term: if our language would admit of it, as the French does *dévouement*, we should call it *devotion*.

Corpus, and in order thereunto sent to the lieftenant of the Tower to desire a copie of the warrant whereby he stood committed, which indeed was so unperfect, that he could not legally be kept upon that, for there was neither his Christen name nor any place of residence mention'd in it, so that any other Hutchinson might have as well bene kept upon it as he; but the lieftenant refus'd to give him a copie, and his iaylor told the prisoner it was alter'd after they had kept him four or five months in prison: then the collonell writ to Bennett, but neither could he obteine any copie of his commitment from him.

After this a friend gave him notice that they had a designe to transport him to some island or plantation; whereupon he writt a narrative of his imprisonment, and procur'd it to be secretly printed, to have left behind him, if he had bene sent away, to acquaint the parliament, which was then shortly to assemble, and to leave with his friends; but he kept them in the mean time privately.*

---

* At the time of Col. Hutchinson's imprisonment, the parliament were so devoted to the views of the court that they might very likely have taken little notice of his representations. Many years elapsed before they animadverted as they ought upon such arbitrary and unjust proceedings. Probably the time will never arrive when parliaments will become sensible of the solecism of making good laws, and then dispensing with the execution of them. The fact is,

At length, through the lies that the lieftenant of the Tower made of his prisoners, and the mallice of their wicked persecutors, who envied even the bread which charity sent in to feed some of the men whose estates were wholly taken away, warrants were signed for carrying away most of the prisoners, some to Tangier, and to other barbarous and distant places: among the rest, Coll. Hutchinson was design'd to the Isle of Man, which Sr. Allen Apsley hearing of, told the king he had some private businesse of trusts with the collonell concerning his owne estate, for which he obtein'd that he might be respited three months, and have liberty for lawyers to come to him. But when the collonell heard of it, he was more displeas'd with this petty favour then with all their rigour, and resolv'd to have done something to reverse it, but that his wife perswaded him to rest till she made a short voyage into the country to fetch him supplies, which he did.

Assoone as she was gone, the lieftenant of the Tower sent his iaylor, Mr. Edward Cresset, early in the morning, upon the 16th day of April 1664, to fetch Mr. Hutchinson to his lodgings, whither being come, Cresset withdrew, and the lieftenant told Mr. Hutchinson that he had bene civill to him in permitting his children to come to him with

---

that *governors* and *makers of laws* seldom feel the effects of them in their own persons: to the *governed*, any variableness destroys the benefit of all law.

their mother, and yet he had not payd him his fees and dues, although that warrant which allow'd the access of his wife did not mention his children, and therefore he now demanded his dues. Mr. Hutchinson told him, " At his departure " out of the Tower he should not be behind " hand with him for the civillity of suffer" ing his children to come to him." Robinson replied, " That signified nothing, he expected " his dues, and would have them." Mr. Hutchinson answer'd, " His was not every prisoner's " condition, for he had bene now 24 weekes " kept close prisoner, and yett never knew ac" cuser nor accusation against him, and there" fore he should desire to consider before he " parted from his mony ; but for any civillities " he should repay them." Robinson sayd, " He " medled with no man's crimes, but whither " guilty or not guilty, he expected his dues, " which he could recover by law if they were " refus'd." Mr. Hutchinson asking, " What " they were ?" He sayd, " Fifty pounds." Further demanding, " By what law they were due, " soe as he could recover them ?" Robinson answer'd, " By custome." Mr. Hutchinson told him, " He was confident that pretence would " not recover them; and if he thought it would, " he would goe to a civill and faire triall with " him the next terme ; yett due or not due, " what civillities he either had or should af-

" ford him, he would recompence at parting." Robinson answer'd, " He stood upon his " right, and he would make Mr. Hutchinson, " or somebody elce, pay it." Mr. Hutchinson told him, " He knew not who he " meant by somebody elce, but if his liberty " were taken from him without any reason that " he knew, he would not soe part with his mony, " if he could help it." He then, in anger, sayd, " He would lock him up close, and let nobody " come att him." Mr. Hutchinson told him, " He could be lock'd no closer then he had bene " all this time, and he hoped he would not forbid those comming to him who had warrant " from the secretary; for the rest he might use " his pleasure." He, in fury, commanded to take away Mr. Hutchinson, and lock him up that no person might come at him; and gave order at the Tower gates to keepe out his children and all his relations that should come to enquire for him; and he sent word to Serieant Fountaine who had an order to come in, that he should not be admitted, although his business was of greate concernment to others, and not to Coll. Hutchinson, who being a trustee for some of his relations, was to have made some settlements in their affaires; which could not be done, but they, to their preiudice, were forc'd to go without it. * Although his commands were

---

* The same respectable Friend who, proceeding upon an

executed to the full, yet Mr. Hutchinson's eldest sonne found meanes to steale into the Tower, and to informe his father of a mallitious lie that the lieftenant had made of him at court, that day that he fell out with him; which was this. — Robinson told the king, that when Mr. Henningham and others were carried out of

---

intimation contained in the Annual Review, communicated to the Editor the particulars of the deliverance of George Fox, given in p. 341. vol. i. has, upon a similar intimation, pointed out several passages in the life of William Penn, demonstrating the officious readiness of this same Sir John Robinson to act as the minister of oppression and persecution. He first sends a sergeant from the tower to watch Penn; the sergeant finds him preaching to *Friends*, seizes him, and drags him away to the Tower, and sends to Whitehall for Robinson — Robinson comes, sits as magistrate, over-rules the just and legal objections of Penn, and commits him to gaol. Penn, whilst in prison, writes a very sensible and moderate letter to Bennet, Earl of Arlington, complaining of coarse treatment in prison, although the secretary had pretended to give orders for his decent accommodation. At the trial of Penn, Sir John Robinson sits as assessor to the Recorder, and at the same time obtrudes himself upon the court as an evidence, interferes to influence the jury against the prisoner, and abuses the foreman because he will not suffer himself to be browbeaten nor biassed. At last, when a verdict could not be obtained conformable to the views of the judges, they fine the jury for that which they have given, and Penn for contempt of the court. To enumerate, from the "Histories of the Sufferings of the Quakers," the instances of his oppression and cruelty, would fill a volume. Suffice it to hold him up here to infamy as lasting as the fame of those two virtuous men, in the hope of deterring other ministers of injustice from doing the like.

the Tower to be shipt away, Mr. Hutchinson looking out of his windore bade them take courage, they should yet have a day for it. This lie comming to Mr. Hutchinson's knowledge the 19th of April, moov'd him more then all his other base usage; whereupon he writt a letter to Robinson to tell him he should have had a care of provoking his prisoners to speake, who had so much expos'd himselfe to every one of them; and to let him know what he himselfe had observ'd and could proove, he drew it up into certeine heads, which he told him, if he continued his vile usage of him, he would publish. The articles were:

1st. That Robinson had affirm'd that the king gave no allowance to his prisoners, not so much as to those who had all their estates taken from them: and accordingly he gave them none, but converted what the king allowed to his owne use, and threat'ned some of the prisoners with death if they offer'd to demand it; and suffer'd others, at twelve of the clock in the night, to make such a miserable outcrie for bread, that it was heard into some parts of the city, and one was absolutely starv'd to death for want of reliefe; although the king at that time told a prisoner, that he tooke more care for the prisoners then for his owne table.

2d. That he sett downe to the king seven pounds a weeke for one prisoner, for whom he never lay'd out above 27 or 30 shillings a weeke at the most.

3d. That he not only kept back the prisoner's allowances, but exacted of them excessive rents for bare prison lodgings, and empty warders houses unfurnisht; and if they have not punctually pay'd him, hath stifled them up by close imprisonment, without any order, allthough he knew they had not a penny to buy bread, but what came from the charity of good people.

4th. That he receiv'd sallary of the king for forty warders, and had not neere so many, but fill'd up the list with false names, and tooke the pay to himselfe.

5th. That when he had receiv'd money for those warders he kept, he had detein'd it many months to his owne use, while the poore men were thereby in miserable wants.

6th. That he sold the warders places, and lett them houses at a deare rate, and yet tooke the most considerable prisoners, which ought to have bene committed to them, into his owne house, and made them pay him excessive rates for bedroomes, and sett his man Cressett over them, making them pay him for attendance, what the warders should have had.

7. That he made many false musters in his owne company belonging to the Tower, and though he had receiv'd the souldier's mony, was runne in arrears to them five or six pounds a

man; at which they cruelly murmur'd, because by this meanes their maintenance was streightned, and their duty brought more frequent upon them.

8th. That notwithstanding all his defrawding, oppressive, and exacting wayes of raysing mony, he had ungratefully complain'd of the king's scanty recompence of his service.

9th. That after the sterving of the poore prisoners and their miserable outcrie, when shame forc'd him to allow about a dozen poore tradesmen ten shilling a piece *, though at that time he receiv'd forty of the king for each of them, he and his man Cressett denied the king's allowance, and sayd it was his owne charity.

10th. That he was frequently drunk, out of the Tower till twelve, one, and two of the clock, and threatned one of the warders, who came one night to fetch him home, with Newgate, and spited him ever after.

All these things being notoriously true, this letter put him into a greate rage, and no lesse dread that the collonell, as he had threatned him, would publish it; whereupon assoone as these things were lay'd to his charge, within ten dayes he pay'd his souldiers 15 months' pay

---

* It hence appears that many more in number, and persons of a different description from what other accounts mention, were made prisoners of state at this time.

of 22 due to them when the letter was written. He having all that while kept back eighteene pence a weeke out of every souldier's pay, and the souldiers understanding that Coll. Hutchinson's observations of his frawd had procur'd them this satisfaction, us'd to give him thankes when they came to stand centinells at his doore.

Presently after he receiv'd the letter, he went to Sr. Allen Apsley and complain'd to him that the collonell had sent him a vile letter, but did not shew it Sr. Allen, as he sent word to the collonell he would; whereupon Sr. Allen Apsley sent Mr. George Hutchinson with a letter to Sr. John Robinson, to tell him that if he would let him goe to his brother, he doubted not but he would be a good meanes to perswade the collonell to pay him fees, and to reconcile differences between them. Sr. John, upon the 21st of April, went allong with Mr. George Hutchinson to his brother, and at his entrance, in a passion began to quarrell at the collonell's sower lookes; who told him, if he had known they would not have pleas'd him, and had had notice of his comming, he would have sett them in a glasse for him. Then Robinson told him, in a rage, he had written him a libell. Mr. Hutchinson answer'd it was no libell, for he had sett his name to it, and it was truths, which if he put him to, he could proove by sufficient testimonies. Whereupon he fell into horrible rayling and cruell language, but by Mr. George Hutchinson's interposition at length all was pacified, and he was fairely going out of the roome with Mr. George Hutchinson, when his man Cressett minding him that the collonell had a fowle copie of his letter, and had sayd he would send it Sr. Allen, who had desir'd to see it; Robinson resolv'd to take that draught away from him; but the collonell foreseeing that, had sent copies of it long before out of the Tower, which Robinson's dull head not dreaming of came back and insolently commanded the collonell to give him the first draught of the letter. The collonell desir'd to be excus'd, whereupon Robinson sayd he would have his pocketts searcht, and accordingly bad Cressett feele in them. He, a little moov'd, tooke a bottle in his hand, and bad Cressett forbeare if he lov'd his head, and told Sr. John if he had any warrant to search him from the king or councell he would submitt to it, but otherwise he would not suffer it, especially for a paper which was only of private concernment betweene them; for all this, when Sr. John saw that Cresset durst not approach the collonell, he commanded one Wale, a warder, to search his pocketts, who comming with entreaties to the collonell to permitt it, he suffer'd him; and then the lieftenant caus'd a little dressing box which the collonell had to be open'd, and tooke away all the papers he found in it, among which there was one wherein the collonell had written a verse out of the 43d psalme, it was the first verse, to be ioin'd with a narrative of his imprisonment, that he had provided to leave behind him for the satisfaction of his friends. This paper Robinson carried to court, and sayd, that by the deceitfull and uniust man the collonell intended the king, although the application was of his owne making. In the meane time, while they were ransacking his box and pocketts, Robinson fell a rayling att the collonell, giving him the base termes of Rebell and Murtherer, and such language as none could have learnt, but such as had bene conversant among the civill society of Pickt-hatch, Turnbull-streete, and Billings-gate, neere which last place the heroe had his education.* When the collonell patiently told him he transgrest the act of oblivion; he sayd he knew that well enough, and bad him sue out his remedie; then in fury and rage turn'd out the collonell's servant out of his chamber, who had bene lockt up with him all the time of his imprisonment, and left him altogether unattended, which having never bene before in his whole life, put him into a cold and a flux, with a feaverish distemper: but the greatnesse of his mind was not broken by the feebleness of his constitution, nor the barbarous inhumanity of his iaylors, which he receiv'd with disdaine and laught at them, but lost not anger on them.

---

* In a former note we remarked that the evils of imprisonment were considerably enhanced by the custody of prisons, and peculiarly prisons of state being committed to persons of low education and sordid mind; it is here strongly exemplified, and doubly painful must it have been to Mrs. Hutchinson to witness the unworthy treatment her husband now received, and to compare it with that which the persons confined in this same place had experienced from her father, a man of a liberal and noble mind. Considering the prejudice which reigns against prisons and prisoners, and therefore how few visit them, and how few prisoners dare make observations or remonstrances, it is to be feared many abuses pass unknown and uncorrected; it is but once, in ages, that there appears a Howard! These considerations ought to render the guardians of the public welfare extremely tender of the liberty of individuals; but if such things as state prisons be

After these things, Mrs. Hutchinson comming out of the country was, by the lieftenant's order, denied to see her husband, but at her lodgings found letters from him convey'd to her every day, spite of all his guards; and thereupon she writt to Robinson to desire to know whither the secretary had countermanded her first order to see her husband, or whither he denied obedience to it: whereupon Robinson sent to her to come to him the next day, but when she came he was gone forth, and she was not admitted within the gates, and thereupon she went back to her lodgings and writt him a smart letter, and sent him

---

at all necessary, then careful to provide for their being superintended by gentlemen, and men of liberal and benevolent minds.

with it a copie of her husband's letter, which she told him she would publish, and not suffer him to be murther'd to extort undue mony from him. The next day, being the Lord's day, he sent one of the warders to entreate her to come to her husband, and the bloodhound Cressett met her at the gate, and led her to her husband, and left her all the day alone with him, which they had never before done all the time of his prison; and in the evening Sr. John Robinson sent for her, and partly expostulated with her and partly flatter'd, and told her her husband had bene sent to the Isle of Man*, but that he in kindnesse had procur'd a better place for him, and that he was not covetous, but since her husband would not pay him fees, he might use his pleasure, and she and his children and relations might freely goe to him. She receiv'd this as befitted her, being in his hands, and knowing, that not good nature, but feare she would have printed him, moov'd him to this gentler course, as she understood, both by the enquiries his servants made of the collonell's warder concerning her intentions, and by Robinson's continuing, notwithstanding all this dissimulation, to make a thousand false insinuations of the collonell every where, and to do him all ill offices at court; if there were not a more abominable wickednesse then all this, a lingering poyson given him, which though wee had not wickednesse enough to suspect then, the events that have since ensued make a little doubtfull. It is certaine that Cressett did make that attempt upon Sr. Henry Vane and others, and two or three dayes before the collonell was sent away, brought into his chamber, when he came to lock him up at night, a bottle of excellent wine, under pretence of kindnesse, which he, the collonell, and the warder drunke together, and the warder and the collonell both died within foure months: the collonell presently after falling sick, but very unsuspitious, and we must leave it to the greate day, when all crimes, how secret soever, will be made manifest, whither they added poison to all the other iniquity whereby they certeinly murther'd this guiltlesse servant of God.

---

* An exile, for the second time, to the Isle of Man is mentioned. Had the collonell, or his friends, been properly informed, they would not have wished to exchange it for the flat coast of Kent. In our times, when it has become the retreat of the gay and imprudent, it must seem strange to hear it spoken of as a spot to be dreaded. Had he been sent there he would very likely have lived to see the downfal of his enemies, and have returned to shine in the autumn of life as an evening sun, when his virtues would have been recognized and revered.

A few dayes after, at nine of the clock att night, after his wife was gone from him, Cressett brought the collonell a warrant, to tell him that he must, the next morning tide, goe downe to Sandown Castle, in Kent; which he was not surpris'd at, it being the barbarous custome of that place to send away the prisoners, when they had no knowledge, nor time to accommodate themselves for their iourney; but instead of putting him into a boate at the morning tide, about eight of the clock Sr. Henry Wroth came with a party of horse to receive him of the lieftenant, and finding him sick, and not well able to endure riding in the heate of the day, was so civill to let him goe by water in the evening tide to Gravesend, with a guard of souldiers in boates hired at his owne charge, where the horse guard mett him. By these meanes he got opertunity to take leave of his children that were in towne, and about four of the clock was sent out of the Tower, with one Gregory, design'd to be his fellow prisoner; who going over the drawbridge, turn'd back to the lieftenant and told him he would have accepted it as a greater mercy if the king had commanded him to be shott to death there, rather then to send him to a distant place to be sterv'd, he having nothing but his trade to maintaine him, and his friends, from whom he should now be so farre remov'd that he could expect nothing.* The lieftenant in scorne told him, he went with a charitable man that would not suffer him to sterve, whereby he exposed the mallice of their intentions to the collonell; who thought it not enough to send him to a farre prison not much differing from exile, but to charge him with a companion, which however his kindnesse might have render'd him charitable to, yet they ought not to have putt upon him, neither would the collonell take notice of their imposition, though he design'd kindnesse to the man, had he bene worthy of it.

---

* This Gregory seems to have been a low man, but had probably commanded a company in some of the city regiments during the latter times of the parliament.

The collonell's wife and children gott a boate and followed him to Gravesend, whither alsoe Gregorie's wife, and one that call'd him brother, went, and that night all the company and all the guards supt at the collonell's charge, and many of the guards lay in the chamber with him, who, with the refreshment of the evening ayre, and the content he tooke to be out of Robinson's claws, found himselfe, or through the livelinesse of his spiritt fancied himselfe, something better then he was in the Tower. The next morning, very early, his guards hurried him away on horseback; but, to speake truth, they were civill to him. His sonne went allong with him to see the place he was sent to, and Sr. Allen Apsley had procur'd an order for his servant to continue with him in the prison; his wife went back to London, to stay there to provide him such accommodation as she should heare he had need of.

When he came to the castle, he found it a lamentable old ruin'd place, allmost a mile distant from the towne, the roomes all out of repaire, not weather-free, no kind of accommodation either for lodging or diet, or any conveniency of life. Before he came, there were not above halfe a dozen souldiers in it, and a poore lieftenant with his wife and children, and two or three cannoneers, and a few guns allmost dismounted, upon rotten carriages; but at the collonell's comming thither, a company of foote more were sent from Dover to helpe guard the place, pittifull weake fellows, halfe sterv'd and eaten up with vermin, whom the governor of Dover cheated of halfe their pay, and the other halfe they spent in drinke. These had no beds, but a nasty court of guard, where a sutler liv'd, within a partition made of boards, with his wife and famely, and this was all the accommodation the collonell had for his victualls, which was bought at a deare rate at the towne, and most horribly drest at the sutler's. For beds he was forc'd to send to an inne in the towne, and at a most unconscionable rate hire three, for himselfe and his man and Captaine Gregorie, and to get his chamber glaz'd, which was a thorowfare roome, that had five doores in it, and one of them open'd upon a platforme, that had nothing but the bleake ayre of the sea, which every tide washt the foote of the castle walls; which ayre made the chamber so unwholesome and damp, that even in the summer time the collonell's hat-case and trunkes, and every thing of leather, would be every day all cover'd over with mould, wipe them as cleane as you could one morning, by the next they would mouldie againe; and though the walls were foure yards thick, yet it rain'd in through cracks in them, and then one might sweepe a peck of salt-peter of of them every day, which stood in a perpetuall sweate upon them. Notwithstanding all this, the collonell was very cheerfull, and made the best shifts he could, with things as he found them, when the lieftenant's wife, seeing his stomach could not well beare his food, offer'd to bord him, and so he and his man dieted with her for twenty shillings a weeke, he finding wine besides, and linnen, &c. Whilst the sutler provided his meate, Gregory eate with him; but when he tabled with the captaine, Gregorie's sonne comming to him, he had his meate from the towne, and soone after a woman came downe who left not the man destitute and comfortlesse. The worst part of the collonell's sufferings in this prison, was the company of this fellow, who, being a fellow prisoner, and poore, and the collonell having no particular retreate, he could not wholly decline his company, and he being a carnall person, without any feare of God, or any good, but rather scandalous conversation, he could take no pleasure in him; meane while many of his friends gave caution to his wife concerning him, as suspecting him a trapaner, which we had after some cause to feare.

The captaine of the castle, one Freeman, had all this while a chamber which was a little warmer, and had a bed in it, but this he reserv'd, intending to sett a rate upon it, and this too was so darke one could not have read by the fire or the bedside without a candle at noon day.

When the collonell's wife understood her husband's bad accommodation, she made all the means she could by her friends to procure liberty that she might be in the castle with him, but that was absolutely denied; whereupon she and her sonne and daughter went to Deale, and there tooke lodgings, from whence they walk'd every day on foote to dinner and back againe at night, with horrible toyle and inconvenience, and procur'd the captaine's wife to diet them with the collonell, where they had meate good enough, but through the poverty of the people, and their wants of all necessaries, and the faculty to order things as they should be, it was very inconvenient to them, yet the collonell endur'd it so chearefully that he was never more pleasant and contented in his whole life. When no other recreations were left him, he diverted himselfe with sorting and shaddowing cockle shells which his wife and daughter gather'd for him, with as much delight as he us'd to take in the richest agathes and onixes he could compasse with the most artificiall engravings, which were things, when he recreated himselfe from more serious studies, he as much delighted in as any piece of art. But his fancy shew'd itselfe so excellent in sorting and dressing these shells, that none of us could imitate it, and the cockles began to be admir'd by severall persons that saw them These were but his trifling diversions, his businesse and continuall study was the Scripture, which the more he converst in, the more it delighted him; insomuch that his wife having brought downe some bookes to entertaine him in his sollitude, he thank'd her, and told her that if he should continue as long as he liv'd in prison, he would reade nothing there but his Bible. His wife bore all her owne toyles ioyfully enough for the love of him, but could not but be very sad at the sight of his undeserved sufferings; and he would very sweetely and kindly chide her for it, and tell her that if she were but chearefull, he should think this suffering the happiest thing that ever befell him; he would alsoe bid her consider what reason she had to reioyce that the Lord supported him, and how much more intollerable it would have bene, if the Lord had suffer'd his spiritt to have sunke, or his patience to have bene lost under this. One day when she was weeping after he had said many things to comfort her, he gave her reasons why she should hope and be assur'd that this cause would revive, because the interest of God was so much involv'd in it that he was entitled to it.* She told him she did not doubt but the cause would revive, but, sayd she, notwithstanding all your resolution, I know this will conquer the weaknesse of your constitution, and you will die in prison. He replied, I think I shall not, but if I doe, my blood will be so innocent, I shall advance the cause more by my death, hasting the vengeance of God upon my unjust enemies, then I could doe by all the actions of my life. Another time, when she was telling him, she fear'd they had plac'd him on the seashore, but in order to transport him to Tangier, he told her, if they should, God was the same God at Tangier as at Owthorpe; prithee, sayd he, trust God with me, if he carrie me away, he will bring me back againe.

---

* The notion of the revival of The Cause, and of the advancement of it by their sufferings, seems to have been very prevalent with those who fell in these times; accordingly they supported their fate with the true spirit of martyrs. The speech of Col. Okey at the time of his execution, preserved in the Trials of the Regicides, maintains the style of prophe-

Sometimes when he would not be perswaded to doe things wherein he had a liberty, for feare

---

tic eloquence with so much dignity and firmness, as almost to captivate the imagination of the coolest reasoner. These sentences following are extracted from it.

" And truly, as to the Cause, I am as confident, even as " I am of my resurrection, that that cause which we first " took up the sword for, which was for righteousness and " justice, and for the advancement of a godly magistracy and " a good ministry, (however some men turn about for their " own ends), shall yet revive again. I am confident, I say, " that cause for which so much blood hath been shed, will " have another resurrection, and that you will have a blessed fruit of those many thousands that have been killed in " the late war. I would say to all good men, rather to suffer than take any indirect means to deliver themselves; " and God, when it shall make most for his own glory and " the good of his people, will deliver, and that in such a way " that himself shall have glory in, and the gospel have no " reproach by."

of putting a snare and stumbling-block before others that had not soe, and she would expostulate with him, why he should make himselfe a martyr for people that had bene so censorious of him, and so unthankfull and unsensible of all his meritts; he would say, he did it not for them, but for the cause they own'd. When many ill usages of himselfe by godly people have bene urg'd to him, he would say, that if they were truly the people of God, all their failings were to be borne; that if God had a people in the land, as he was confident he had, it was among them, and not among the cavaliers, and therefore although he should ever be severe against their miscarriages in any person in whomsoever he found them, yett he would adhere to them that own'd God, how unkindly soever they dealt with him. Sometimes he would say, that if ever he should live to see the parliament power up againe, he would never meddle any more either in councells or armies: and then sometimes againe, when he saw or heard of any of the debosheries of the times, he would say, he would act only as a iustice of the peace in the country, and be severe against drunkards, and suffer none in his neighbourhood. Oftentimes he would say, if ever he were at liberty in the world, he would flee the conversation of the cavaliers, and would write upon his doores,

Procul hinc, procul este, profani!

and that, though he had in his former conversation with them, never had any communication with their manners nor vices, yet henceforth he would never, in one kind or other, have any commerce at all with them; and indeed it was a resolution he would oftener repeate than any other he had, telling us, that he was convinc'd there was a serpentine seed in them. Yett he had many apprehensions of the rash hot-headed spiritts of many of our party, and feares that their pride and selfe-conceit of their owne abillities, would againe bring us to confusion, if ever they should have the reines againe in their hands; and therefore he would bid us advise his sonne, if ever we liv'd to see a change, and would himselfe advise him not to fall in with the first, how faire soever their pretences were; but to waite to see how their practises suited them: for he would say, that a hot-spiritted people would first get up and put all into confusion, and then a sober party must settle things; and he would say, let my sonne stay to fall in with these. He foresaw that the courses that the king and his party tooke to establish themselves would be their ruine, and would say, that whenever the king had an armie it would be his destruction.* Once when his wife was lamenting his condition, having sayd many things to comfort her, he told her he could not have bene without this affliction, for if he had flourish'd while all the people of God were corrected, he should have fear'd he had not bene accounted among his children, as he had not shared their lott. Then would he with thankfulnesse repeate the kind and gentle dealings of the Lord att all times toward him, and erect a firme and mighty hope upon it, and wonderfully encourage her to beare it patiently, not only by words, but by his owne admirable example.

---

* Is it permissible to extend this prediction to the time when James the Second mustered his army near Salisbury, and in their almost general defection received his irrevocable doom? If it is, it will appear a very signal instance of foresight. The king then reigning, Charles II. never made but one, and that a very short-lived attempt to raise an army, which was speedily disbanded.

After Mr. Hutchinson had bene some time prisoner at Sandowne, the governor of the castle came over, and would faine have lett him his chamber for 20*s.* a week, which Mr. Hutchinson told him he would give him, if his wife might come there to him; but the governor refus'd that without an express order, which was endeavour'd but could not be obtein'd. Then Freeman demanded a marke a weeke of the collonell for fees, but the collonell told him, except he could shew how it was due by any known law, he would not pay it. Sometime after the governor of Dover came over, with the governor of Sandowne and one Mr. Masters, and Freeman consulting his master of Dover how he should gett mony of the collonell, the governor of Dover adviz'd to putt him into a dungeon, but the fellow durst not attempt it. Yet some time after he came to the castle, and passing into his

owne chamber, through Mr. Hutchinson's, who was there, as he went by with his lieftenant Moyle at his heeles, he call'd out to Mr. Hutchinson's man, and bad him bid Hutchinson come to him, without any addition of so much as the title of a gentleman. Mrs. Hutchinson being then in the roome with her husband, desir'd him she might goe in with him and answer the captaine's insolency, and that he would take no notice of it, which he told her he would not, neither should she, and soe they went into the captaine's chamber, who had alsoe call'd Gregory. When they were both there, the captaine turning to Moyle sayd, "Captaine Moyle, I or-
" deine you to quarter Hutchinson and Gregorie
" together in the next roome, and if Hutchinson
" will make a partition at his owne charge, he
" may have that part of the chamber that has
" the chimney, and for this expect a marke a
" weeke of Hutchinson, and a noble of Gregory;
" and if they will have any enlargement besides,
" they must pay for it." * Mr. Hutchinson laught at him, and bad his wife report his usage of him to the secretary at London, to whom she

---

* In speaking of the persons who had the command of the castle, and custody of the prisoners, there seems in some parts of the narrative to be a little perplexity; but this passage shews clearly that Freeman was captain, but did not reside at it; and that Moyle was his lieftenant, and did reside at it. The former was the person who, on this and some other occasions, attempted to extort money from Col. Hutchinson and his family; the latter was the person whose wife boarded and accommodated them.

presently writt an account of it, and sent it to Sr. Allen Apsley, desiring him either to procure a remoove, or an order for better accommodation, and shew'd this letter to Gregory before it went, representing equally his condition with her husband's: and seeing she could not get admission into the castle, she tooke a house in the towne, to which she intended to bring her children for the winter, had not God prevented.

Not* long after, the collonell's brother, Mr. George Hutchinson, came downe, and brought with him an order, sign'd by Secretary Bennet, for to allow the collonell leave to walke by the seaside with a keeper, which order Sr. Allen Apsley and his lady had at length procur'd with some difficulty and sent him; wherein he was so well satisfied, that he thought not his prison now insupportable; neither indeed was it so to him before, for his patience and faith wonderfully carried him on under all his sufferings.. As it now drew nigh to the latter end of the year, Mrs. Hutchinson, having prepar'd the house, was necessitated to goe to Owthorpe to fetch her children, and other supplies to her husband; whom, when the time of her departure came, she left with a very sad and ill-presaging heart, rather dreading that while he lay so ready on the sea-coast, he might some time or other be shipt away to some barbarous place in her absence then that which after ensued. The collonell comforted all he could, and that morning she went away, "Now," sayd he, "I myselfe begin to be loath to part "with thee." But yet, according to his usual chearefullnesse, he encourag'd himselfe, and her, and sent his sonne along with her. His daughter and his brother stay'd at Deale; who comming to him every day, he walk'd out with them by the seaside, and would discourse of the publique concernments, and say that the ill management of the state would cause discontented wild parties to mutinie and rise against the present powers, but they would only put things in confusion; it must be a sober partie that must then arise and settle them. He would often say to his sonne and his wife, as he did now to his brother, " Let not my " sonne, how fairely soever they pretend, too " rashly engage with the first, but stay to see " what they make good, and engage with those " who are for settlement, who will have need of " men of interest to assist them ; let him keep " cleare and take heed of too rash attempts, and " he will be courted if he behave himselfe piously " and prudently, and keepe free of all faction, " making the publique interest only his." He would sometimes in discourse say, that when these people once had an armie up, which they seem'd to ayme att, that armie would be their destruction, for he was very confident God would bring them downe : he would often say they could not stand, and that whoever had aniething to doe with them could not prosper. He once made this expression, " Although," sayd he, " I " am free from any trucking with them, yet even " that consenting submission that I had, hath " brought this suffering upon me." And he would often say he would never have so much as a civill correspondence with any of them againe : yet when he mention'd Sr. Allen Apsley, he would say, he would never serve any that would not for his sake serve the person that had preserv'd him. When his wife went away he was exceeding well and chearefull, and so confident of seeing Owthorpe, that he gave her directions in a paper for planting trees, and many other things belonging to the house and gardens. " You

---

* We now hasten to the conclusion of our tragedy, and accordingly here are all the principal characters in their proper places and attitudes: our hero suffering with fortitude, calmness, and dignity; the kind-hearted brother, the idolizing devoted wife, the observant son and daughter soothing him with their assiduities, and the constant friend procuring and sending alleviations. Evils so endured, so consoled, almost begin to partake of the nature of enjoyments; but even this state of things will prove very transient, and like the last gleams of departing day, and we must speedily descend into the vale of tears; those who solicited this exile as a mitigation of oppression, and this licence of walking on the shore as a relief, little knew or thought of the effect the situation on this low shore would have on the constitution of a person brought tenderly up, and having lived all his time in the centre of the kingdom; or that walks by the seaside, in the decline of the day and of the year, added considerably to the danger. Those who are acquainted with these parts are well aware of it, and probably so were those who granted both.

Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.

Trust not the fraudful present of a foe.

" give me," sayd she, " these orders, as if you " were to see that place again." " If I doe not," sayd he, " I thanke God I can chearefully fore" goe it, but I will not distrust that God will " bring me back againe, and therefore I will " take care to keepe it while I have it."

The third of September, being Saturday, he had bene walking by the seaside, and comming home found himselfe aguish, with a kind of shivering and payne in his bones, and went to bed, and sweat exceedingly; the next day was a little better, and went downe, and on the Monday expecting another fitt, which came upon him, lay in bed all day, and rose againe the next day, but went not downe, and after that he slept no more 'till his last sleepe came upon him, but continued in a feaverish distemper, with violent sweatings, after which he us'd to rise out of his bed to refresh him, and when he was up us'd to read much in his Bible. He had appoynted his wife, when she went away, to send him the Dutch Annotations on the Bible, and she had sent it downe with some other things; which he presently caus'd to be brought him, though he was in his bed, and some places in the Epistle to the Romans read, which having heard, " these annota" tors," sayd he, " are short;" and then looking over some notes upon that Epistle, which his wife had left in a booke she had gather'd from him; " I have," sayd he, " discover'd much

" more of the mystery of truth in that Epistle, " and when my wife returns I will make her sett " it downe; for," sayd he, " I will no more " observe their crosse humors, but when her " children are neere, I will have her in my " chamber with me, and they shall not pluck " her out of my armes; and then, in the winter " nights, she shall collect severall observations I " have made on this Epistle since I came into pri" son." The continuall study of the scriptures did infinitely ravish and refine his soule, and take it of from all lower exercise, and he continued it in his sicknesse even to the last, desiring his brother, when he was in bed and could not read himselfe, to reade it to him. He found himselfe every day grow weaker, yet was not exceeding sick, only he could not sleepe at all, day nor night. There was a country phisitian at Deale, who had formerly belong'd to the armie, and had some guifts, and used to exercise them among godly people in their meetings; but having been taken there once by the persecutors, and being married to a wicked unquiet woman, she and the love of the world had perverted him to forsake all religious meetings, yet the man continued civill and faire condition'd, and was much employ'd thereabouts. He being sent for to Mr. Hutchinson, found that on Friday his mouth grew very sore, whereupon he told Mr. George Hutchinson that he distrusted his owne skill in looking to it, and apprehended some danger, and advis'd him to send for a very famous phisitian that was at Canterbury, which they did, and he came on Saturday. As he came allong he enquired of the messenger that fetcht him what kind of person the collonell was, and how he had liv'd and been accustom'd, and which chamber of the castle he was now lodg'd in? Which when the man had told him, he sayd his iourney would be to no purpose, for that chamber had kill'd him. Accordingly, when he came, he told the collonell's brother, on Saturday night, that he apprehended danger, and appoynted some remedies, and some applications to his temples, and a cordiale to procure rest, but it had no effect. There was a nurse watcht in his chamber, and she told them after his death, that she heard him pray in the night, with the deepest sighs that ever she heard. The next morning, before the doctor and his daughter, and brother and servants came to him, the gentlewoman of the castle came up and ask'd him how he did? He told her, incomparably well, and full of faith.

Sometime after, when the doctor came, he told his brother that the fever had seiz'd his head, and that he believ'd he would soone fall into ravings and die, and therefore wisht him, if he had aniething to say to him, to speake while he was in perfect sence. So Mr. George Hutchinson came to him, and told him he believ'd he could not live, and therefore desir'd him if he had aniething to do, to dispatch it, for he believ'd his end was approaching. The collonell, without the least deiection or amazement, replied, very composedly and chearefully, "The will of the "Lord be done, I am ready for it." And then he told them that he did now confirme the will he writt in the Tower for his last will and testament, and all others to be voyd. The doctor, who had, when religion was in fashion, bene a pretender to it, came to him, and askt him if his peace was made with God; to which he replied, "I hope you do not "think me so ill a Christian, to have bene "thus long in prison, and have that to doe "now!" The doctor asked him concerning the ground of his hope; to which he answer'd, "There's none but Christ, none but Christ, in "whom I have unspeakable ioy, more then I "can expresse; yet I should utter more, but "that the sorenesse of my mouth makes it dif- "ficult for me to speake." Then they askt him where he would be buried? He told them, in his vault at Owthorpe; his brother told him it would be a long way to carrie him: he answer'd, "Let my wife order the manner of it as "she will, only I would lie there." He left a kind of message to his wife, "Let her," sayd he, "as she is above other weomen, shew her- "selfe, in this occasion, a good Christian, and

" above the pitch of ordinary weomen." * He commanded his daughter that was present to tell the rest, that he would have them all guided by her councells; and left with his brother the same message to his eldest sonne. " I would," sayd he, " have spoken to my wife and sonne, " but it is not the will of God;" then as he was going to utter something, " here's none but " friends;" his brother minded him the doctor was present; " O, I thanke you," sayd he; and such was their amazement in their sorrow, that they did not think of speaking to the doctor to retire, but lost what he would have sayd, which I am confident was some advice to his sonne how to demeane himselfe in publick concernments. He lay all the day very sensible and very chearefull, to the admiration of both the doctors and of all that saw him; and as his daughter sate weeping by him, " Fie Bab," sayd he, " doe " you mourne for me as for one without hope? " There is hope." He desir'd his brother to remember him to Sr. Allen Apsley, and tell him that he hoped God would reward his labour of love to him. While he was thus speaking to them, his spiritts decay'd exceedingly fast,

---

* This is that command of her husband which Mrs. Hutchinson speaks of at the beginning of her narrative, where she says she has determined to employ her thoughts upon the preservation of his memory, not the fruitless bewailing of it.

and his pulse grew very low, and his head allready was earth in the upper part; yett he rays'd himselfe in his bed, "And now," sayd he to the doctor, "I would faine know your reason why "you fancy me dying; I feele nothing in my-"selfe, my head is well, my heart is well, and I "have no paine nor sicknesse any where." The doctor seeing this, was amaz'd; "Sir," sayd he, "I would be glad to be deceiv'd;" and being at a stand, he told Mr. George Hutchinson he was surpriz'd, and knew not what to thinke, to see him so chearefull and undisturb'd, when his pulse was gone; which if it were not death, might be some strange working of the spleen, and therefore advis'd him to send away for Dr. Ridgely, which he would before have done, but that the doctor told him he fear'd it would be vaine, and that he would be dead before the doctor could come. While they were preparing to write, the collonell spoke only these two words; "'Tis as I would have it: 'tis where I would have it:" and spoke no more, for convulsions wrought his mouth, yet did his sence remaine perfect to his last breath; for when some named Mrs. Hutchinson, and sayd, "Alas, how "will she be surpriz'd!" he fetcht a sigh, and within a little while departed; his countenance settling so amiably and cheerfull in death, that he lookt after he was dead as he us'd to do when best pleas'd in life. It was observable that the same hower, and the same day of the month, and the same day of the weeke, that the wicked souldiers fetcht him out of his owne rest and quiet condition at home, eleven months before, the Lord of hosts sent his holy angels to fetch him out of their cruell hands up to his everlasting and blessed rest above; this being the Lord's-day, about seven o'clock at night, the eleventh day of September, 1664; that, the same day and hower, the eleventh of October, 1663.

The two doctors, though mere strangers to him, were so moov'd, that they both wept as if it had bene their brother; and he of Canterbury sayd, he had bene with many eminent persons, but he never in his whole life saw any one receive death with more Christian courage, and constancy of mind, and stedfastnesse of faith, then the collonell had exprest from the first to the last; so that, considering the heiggt of his feaver, and his want of rest, there was an evidence of a devine assistance that overrul'd all the powers and operations of nature. This doctor, who was call'd Dr. Jachin, had most curiously and strictly observ'd all his motions, I know not by what impulse, but he after sayd, in regard of the collonell's former engagements, he knew he should be examin'd of all circumstances, and therefore was resolv'd dilligently to observe them; and as he guess'd, it after fell out, for the gentlemen of the country, being of the royall partie, were busie in their enquiries, which the doctor answer'd with such truth and clearnesse as made them ready to burst with envie at the peace and ioy the Lord was pleas'd to give his servant, in taking him out of this wicked world. I am apt to thinke that it was not alone tendernesse of nature, but conviction of their owne disturbed peace, which drew those teares from the doctors, when they saw in him that blessed peace and ioy which crownes the Lord's constant martirs; whatever it were, the men were faithfull in divulging the glory of the Lord's wonderfull presence with his servant.

Assoone as the collonell was dead, his brother sent away a messenger to carry the sad newes to his house, and caus'd his body to be embalm'd in order to his funerall, as he had thrice order'd. When he was embowell'd all his inwards were found exceeding sound, and no taint in any part, only two or three purple spotts on his lungs: his gall, the doctor sayd, was the largest that ever he saw in any man, and observ'd it to be a miracle of grace that he had bene so patient as he had seene him.

Some two or three dayes before the collonell fell sick, Freeman, the captaine of the castle, had sent downe a very strict order that the collonell should carrie nothing out of the castle: in pursuance of which the souldiers would not suffer them to take out his beds and furniture, and clothes, which Mr. Hutchinson forbore till an order came for them.

Assoone as the newes came to Owthorpe, the collonell's two eldest sonnes and all his household servants went up to London with his horses, and made ready a herse, trickt with scutcheons and six horses in mourning, with a mourning coach and six horses to waite on it, and came downe to Deale with an order from the secretary for the body; but when they came thither, the Captaine Freeman, in spite, would not deliver it, because Mrs. Hutchinson herselfe was not come to fetch it; so they were forct, at an intollerable expence, to keepe all this equipage at Deale while they sent to the secretary for another order, which they gott directed to the lieftenant in the absence of the captaine, and assoone as it came deliver'd it to him, who immediately suffer'd them to take away the body, which they did at that hower, though it was night, fearing a further dispute with Freeman. For he, after the body had bene ten dayes embalm'd, sayd he would have a iury empannell'd, and a coroner to sitt upon it, to see whether he died a naturall death. Mr. Hutchinson ask'd him why he urg'd that, when it lay on their side to have sought satisfaction. He sayd he must doe it to cleare the king's garrison. Mr. Hutchinson told him he had slipt his time; it should have bene done at the first, before the embalming. He say'd he would have it unlapt, and accordingly he sent for a coroner and a iury, who when they came would not unlap the body, but call'd those persons that were about him, and examin'd them as to the occasion of his death. They made affidavit, which remains yet upon record, that the doctor sayd *the place had kill'd him*, and satisfied with this, they did not unlap the body. As it came into Deale, Freeman mett it, and sayd, if he had bene in the castle they should not have had it till they had pay'd the mony he demanded; which when he could not iustifie any right to by any law, he fell to begg most basely and unworthily, but neither had aniething given him for that. However though the secretary had alsoe order'd the collonell should have his things out, yet he detein'd all he found in the castle, his trunkes, and beds, and furniture, which could never be gotten out of his hands. Although this spite of his put the collonell's famely to an excessive charge in staying so long in that cut-throat towne of Deale, yet there was a providence of the Lord in it; for the collonell's daughter that was there, through grief had contracted a violent sicknesse, which tooke her with greate extremity, and wrought of her stomack in black vomitts, that made her for the present desperately ill, and the doctor that was with her sayd that if she had bene then in her iourney, as she would have bene, had they not bene delay'd by his cruell spite, she could not have liv'd.

The next day after they had gotten out the body, they brought it with a handsome private equipage to Canterbury, and so forward towards London, meeting no affronts in their way but at one towne, where there was a faire, and the priest of the place came out with his clearke in his foole's coat, to offer them buriall, and, to stop their herse, layd hold on the horses, whom when the attendants putt by, the wicked rout at the faire took part with them, and sett upon the horsemen; but they broke severall of their heads, and made their way cleare, having beaten of all the towne and the faire, and came on to London. They past through Southwarke, over the bridge, and through the whole heart of the citie, to their lodging in Holborne, in the day time, and had not one reviling word or indignity offer'd them all the way, but severall people were very much moov'd at that sad witnesse of the murderous cruelty of the men then in power.

From London he was brought downe to Owthorpe, very seriously bewailed all the way he came allong by all those who had bene better acquainted with his worth then the strangers among whom he died, and was brought home with honor to his grave through the dominions of his murtherers, who were ashamed of his glories, which all their tirannies could not extinguish with his life.

Inscriptions on the Monument of Colonel Hutchinson,

AT OWTHORPE, IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

(Supposed by Mrs. HUTCHINSON.)

Quosque Domine!

In a vault under this wall lieth the body of

JOHN HUTCHINSON,

Of Owthorpe, in the county of Nottingham, Esq.

Eldest sonne and heire of Sr. Thomas Hutchinson by his
first wife, the Lady Margaret, daughter of Sr. John
Biron, of Newsted, in the sayd county.

This monument doth not commemorate
Vaine ayrie glorious titles, birth, and state;
But sacred is to free, illustrious grace,
Conducting happily a mortal's race;
To end in triumph over death and hell,
When, like the prophet's cloake, the fraile flesh fell,
Forsaken as a dull impediment,
Whilst love's swift fiery chariot climb'd th' ascent.
Nor are the reliques lost, but only torn,
To be new made, and in more lustre worn.
Full of this ioy he mounted, he lay downe,
Threw off his ashes, and tooke up his crowne.
  Those who lost all their splendor in his grave,
Ev'n there yet no inglorious period have.

He married Lucy, the daughter of Sr. Allen Apsley, lieftenant of the Tower of London, by his third wife, the Lady Lucy, daughter of Sr. John St. John, of Lidiard Tregos, in the county of Wilts, who dying at Owthorpe, October 11, 1659, lieth buried in the same vault.

He left surviving by the sayd Lucy 4 sons; Thomas, who married Jane, the daughter of Sr. Alexander Radcliffe, buried in the same vault: and Edward, Lucius, and John: and 4 daughters; Barbara, Lucy, Margaret, and Adeliza; which last lies buried in the same vault.

He died at Sandowne castle, in Kent, after 11 months harsh and strict imprisonment, — without crime or accusation, — upon the 11th day of Sept. 1664, in the 49th yeare of his age, full of ioy, in assured hope of a glorious resurrection.

VERSES

WRITTEN BY MRS. HUTCHINSON,

In the small Book containing her own Life, and most probably composed by her during her Husband's retirement from public business to his Seat at Owthorpe.

All sorts of men through various labours presse
To the same end, contented quietnesse;
Great princes vex their labouring thoughts to be
Possest of an unbounded soveraigntie;
The hardy souldier doth all toyles susteine
That he may conquer first, and after raigne;
Th' industrious merchant ploughs the angrie seas
That he may bring home wealth, and live at ease,
Which none of them attaine; for sweete repose
But seldome to the splendid pallace goes;
A troope of restlesse passions wander there,
And private lives are only free from care.
Sleep to the cottage bringeth happy nights,
But to the court, hung round with flaring lights,
Which th' office of the vanisht day supplie,
His image only comes to close the eie,
But gives the troubled mind no ease of care;
While countrie slumbers undisturbed are;
Where if the active fancie dreames present,
They bring no horrors to the innocent.
Ambition doth incessantly aspire,
And each advance leads on to new desire;

Nor yet can riches av'rice satisfie,
For want and wealth together multiplie:
Nor can voluptuous men more fullnesse find,
For enioy'd pleasures leave their stings behind.
He's only rich who knows no want; he raignes
Whose will no severe tyranny constreins;
And he alone possesseth true delight
Whose spotlesse soule no guiltie feares affright.
This freedome in the countrie life is found,
Where innocence and safe delights abound:
Here man's a prince; his subjects ne'er repine
When on his back their wealthy fleeces shine.
If for his appetite the fattest die,
Those who survive will rayse no mutinie:
His table is with home-gott dainties crown'd,
With friends, not flatterers, encompast round;
No spies nor traitors on his trencher waite,
Nor is his mirth confin'd to rules of state;
An armed guard he neither hath nor needs,
Nor fears a poyson'd morsell when he feeds;
Bright constellations hang above his head,
Beneath his feet are flourie carpetts spred;
The merrie birds delight him with their songs,
And healthfull ayre his happie life prolongs.
Att harvest merrily his flocks he sheares,
And in cold weather their warm fleeces weares;
Unto his ease he fashions all his clothes;
His cup with uninfected liquor flows:
The vulgar breath doth not his thoughts elate,
Nor can he be o'erwhelmed by their hate;
Yet, if ambitiously he seeks for fame,
One village feast shall gaine a greater name
Then his who weares th' imperiall diadem,
Whom the rude multitude doe still condemne.
Sweet peace and ioy his blest companions are;
Feare, sorrow, envie, lust, revenge, and care,

And all that troope which breeds the world's offence,
With pomp and maiestie, are banisht thence.
What court then can such libertie afford?
Or where is man so uncontroul'd a lord?

THE END.

London:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER 1808.

No. XXV.

ART. I. *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, Governor of Nottingham Castle and Town, Representative of the County of Nottingham in the Long Parliament, and of the Town of Nottingham in the First Parliament of Charles II, &c.; with Original Anecdotes of many of the most distinguished of his Contemporaries; and a Summary Review of Public Affairs: Written by his widow, Lucy, daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, Lieutenant of the Tower, &c.* Now first published from the Original Manuscript, by the Rev. Julius Hutchinson, &c. &c. To which is prefixed, the Life of Mrs Hutchinson, written by herself, a fragment. pp. 446. Quarto. London, Longman & Co. 1806.

WE have not often met with any thing more interesting and curious than this volume. Independent of its being a contemporary narrative of by far the most animating and important part of our history, it challenges our attention as containing an accurate and luminous account of military and political affairs from the hand of a woman; as exhibiting the most liberal and enlightened sentiments in the person of a puritan; and sustaining a high tone of aristocratical dignity and pretension, though the work of a decided republican. The views which it opens into the character of the writer, and the manners of the age, will be to many a still more powerful attraction.

Of the times to which this narrative belongs—times to which England owes all her freedom and all her glory—we can never hear too much, or too often: and though their story has been transmitted to us both with more fulness of detail and more vivacity of colouring than any other portion of our annals, every reflecting reader must be aware that our information is still extremely defective, and exposes us to the hazard of great misconception. The work before us, we think, is calculated in a good degree to supply these deficiencies, and to rectify these errors.

By

By far the most important part of history, as we have formerly * endeavoured to explain, is that which makes us acquainted with the character, dispositions and opinions of the great and efficient population by whose motion or consent all things are ultimately governed. After a nation has attained to any degree of intelligence, every other principle of action becomes subordinate; and, with relation to our own country in particular, it may be said with safety, that we can know nothing of its past history, or of the applications of that history to more recent transactions, if we have not a tolerably correct notion of the character of the people of England in the reign of Charles I., and the momentous periods which ensued. This character depended very much on that of the landed proprietors and resident gentry; and Mrs Hutchinson's memoirs are chiefly valuable, as containing a picture of that class of the community.

Agriculture was at this period still the chief occupation of the people; and the form of the society was consequently that of a rustic aristocracy. The country gentlemen,—who have since been worn down by luxury and taxation, superseded by the activity of office, and eclipsed by the opulence of trade,—were then all and all in England; and the nation at large derived from them its habits, prejudices, and opinions. Educated almost entirely at home, their manners were not yet accommodated to a general European standard, but retained all those national peculiarities which united and endeared them to the rest of their countrymen. Constitutionally serious, and living much with their families, they had in general more solid learning and more steady morality than the gentry of other countries. Exercised in local magistracies, and frequently assembled for purposes of national cooperation, they became conscious of their power, and jealous of their privileges: and having been trained up in a dread and detestation of that popery which had been the recent cause of so many wars and persecutions, their religious sentiments had contracted somewhat of an austere and polemical character, and had not yet settled from the ferment of reformation into tranquil and regulated piety. It was upon this side, accordingly, that they were most liable to error: and the extravagances into which a great part of them was actually betrayed, has been the chief cause of the misrepresentations to which they were then exposed, and of the misconception which still prevails as to their character and principles of action.

In the middle of the reign of Charles I., almost the whole nation was serious and devout. The license and excess which is in

---

* NO. XXIV. p. 282, &c.

in some degree inseparable from a state of war, fell chiefly upon the Royalists; who made it a point of duty indeed to deride the sanctity and rigid morality of their opponents; and they again exaggerated, out of party hatred, the peculiarities by which they were most obviously distinguished from their antagonists. Thus mutually receding from each other, from feelings of general hostility, they were gradually led to realize the imputations of which they were reciprocally the subjects. The cavaliers gave way to a certain degree of licentiousness; and the adherents of the parliament became, for the most part, really morose and enthusiastic. At the restoration, the cavaliers obtained a complete and final triumph over their sanctimonious opponents; and the exiled monarch and his nobles imported from the continent a taste for dissipation, and a toleration for debauchery, far exceeding any thing that had previously been known in England. It is from the wits of that court, however, and the writers of that party, that the succeeding and the present age have derived their notions of the puritans. In reducing these notions to the standard of truth, it is not easy to determine how large an allowance ought to be made for the exaggerations of party hatred, the perversions of witty malice, and the illusions of habitual superiority. It is certain, however, that ridicule, toleration, and luxury, gradually annihilated the puritans in the higher ranks of society; and after times seeing their practices and principles exemplified only among the lowest and most illiterate of mankind, readily caught the tone of contempt which had been assumed by their triumphant enemies; and found no absurdity in believing that the base and contemptible beings who were described under the name of puritans by the courtiers of Charles II., were true representatives of that valiant and conscientious party which once numbered half the gentry of England among its votaries and adherents.

That the popular conceptions of the auſterities and abſurdities of the old Roundheads and Preſbyterians are greatly exaggerated, will probably be allowed by every one at all converſant with the ſubject; but we know of nothing ſo well calculated to diſſipate the exiſting prejudices on the ſubject as this book of Mrs Hutchinſon. Inſtead of a ſet of gloomy bigots waging war with all the elegancies and gaieties of life, we find, in this calumniated order, ladies of the firſt birth and faſhion, at once converting their huſbands to Anabaptiſm, and inſtructing their children in muſic and dancing,—valiant Preſbyterian colonels reſuting the errors of Arminius, collecting pictures, and practiſing, with great applauſe, on the violin,—ſtout eſquires, at the ſame time, praying and quaffing October with their godly tenants,—and noble lords diſputing with their chaplains on points of theology in the evening, and taking them out a-hunting in the morning. There is nothing, in ſhort, more curious and inſtructive, than the glimpſes which we here catch of the old hoſpitable and orderly life of the country gentlemen of England, in thoſe days when the national character was ſo high and ſo peculiar,—when civilization had produced all its effect but that of corruption,—and when ſerious ſtudies and dignified purſuits had not yet been abandoned to a paltry and effeminate deriſion. Undoubtedly, in reviewing the annals of thoſe times, we are ſtruck with a loftier air of manhood than preſents itſelf in any after era; and recognize the ſame characters of deep thought and ſteady enthuſiaſm, and the ſame principles of fidelity and ſelf-command which ennobled the better days of the Roman Republic, and have made every thing elſe appear childiſh and frivolous in the compariſon.

One of the moſt ſtriking and valuable things in Mrs Hutchinſon's performance, is the information which it affords us as to the manners and condition of women in the period with which ſhe is occupied. This is a point in which all hiſtories of public events are almoſt neceſſarily defective; though it is evident that, without attending to it, our notions of the ſtate and character of any people muſt be extremely imperfect and erroneous. Mrs Hutchinſon, however, enters into no formal diſquiſition upon this ſubject. What we learn from her in relation to it, is learnt incidentally—partly on occaſion of ſome anecdotes which it falls in her way to recite—but chiefly from what ſhe is led to narrate or diſcloſe as to her own education, conduct, or opinions. If it were allowable to take the portrait which ſhe has thus indirectly finiſhed of herſelf as a juſt repreſentation of her fair contemporaries, we ſhould form a moſt exalted notion of the republican matrons of England. Making a ſlight deduction for a few traits of auſterity, borrowed from the bigotry of the age, we do not know where to look for a more noble and engaging character than that under which this lady preſents herſelf to her readers; nor do we believe that any age of the world has produced ſo worthy a counterpart to the Valerias and Portias of antiquity. With a high-minded feeling of patriotiſm and public honour, ſhe ſeems to have been poſſeſſed by the moſt dutiful and devoted attachment to her huſband; and to have combined a taſte for learning and the arts with the moſt active kindneſs and munificent hoſpitality to all who came within the ſphere of her bounty. To a quick perception of character, ſhe appears to have united a maſculine force of underſtanding, and a ſingular capacity for affairs; and to have poſſeſſed and exerciſed all thoſe talents, without affecting any ſuperiority over the reſt of her ſex, or abandoning for a ſingle inſtant the delicacy and reſerve which were then its moſt indiſpenſable

able ornaments. Education, certainly, is far more generally diffuſed in our days, and accompliſhments infinitely more common; but the peruſal of this volume has taught us to doubt, whether the better ſort of women were not faſhioned of old by a better and more exalted ſtandard, and whether the moſt eminent female of the preſent day would not appear to diſadvantage by the ſide of Mrs Hutchinſon. There is, for the moſt part, ſomething intriguing and profligate and theatrical in the clever women of this generation; and if we are dazzled by their brilliancy, and delighted with their talent, we can ſcarcely ever guard againſt ſome diſtruſt of their judgment, or ſome ſuſpicion of their purity. There is ſomething in the domeſtic virtue and the calm and commanding mind of our Engliſh matron, that makes the Corinnes and Heloiſes appear very ſmall and inſignificant.

The admirers of modern talent will not accuſe us of chooſing an ignoble competitor, if we deſire them to weigh the merits of Mrs Hutchinſon againſt thoſe of Madame Roland. The Engliſh revolutioniſt did not indeed compoſe weekly pamphlets and addreſſes to the municipalities;—becauſe it was not the faſhion, in her days, to print every thing that entered into the heads of politicians. But ſhe ſhut herſelf up with her huſband in the garriſon with which he was entruſted, and ſhared his counſels as well as his hazards. She encouraged the troops by her cheerfulneſs and heroiſm—miniſtered to the ſick; and dreſſed with her own hands the wounds of the captives, as well as of their victors. When her huſband was impriſoned on groundleſs ſuſpicions, ſhe laboured, without ceaſing, for his deliverance—confounded his oppreſſors by her eloquence and arguments—tended him with unſhaken fortitude in ſickneſs and ſolitude—and, after his deceaſe, dedicated herſelf to form his children to the example of his virtues; and drew up the memorial which is now before us of his worth, and her own genius and affection. All this, too, ſhe did without ſtepping beyond the province of a private woman—without hunting after compliments to her own genius or beauty—without ſneering at the dulneſs, or murmuring at the coldneſs of her huſband—without hazarding the fate of her country on the dictates of her own enthuſiaſm, or fancying for a moment that ſhe was born with talents to enchant and regenerate the world. With equal power of diſcriminating character, with equal candour and eloquence and zeal for the general good, ſhe is elevated beyond her French competitor by ſuperior prudence and modeſty, and by a certain ſimplicity and purity of character, of which, it appears to us, that the other was unable to form a conception.

After detaining the reader ſo long with these general obſervations, we ſhall only withhold him from the quotations which we mean to lay before him, while we announce, that Mrs Hutchinſon

son writes in a sort of lofty, classical, translated style; which is occasionally diffuse and pedantic, but often attains to great dignity and vigour, and still more frequently charms us by a sort of antique simplicity and sweetness, admirably in unison with the sentiments and manners it is employed to represent.

The fragment of her own history, with which the volume opens, is not the least interesting, and perhaps the most characteristic part of its contents. The following brief account of her nativity, will at once make the reader acquainted with the pitch of this lady's sentiments and expressions.

'It was on the 29th day of January, in the yeare of our Lord $16\frac{19}{20}$, that in the Tower of London, the principall citie of the Engligh Isle, I was about 4 of the clock in the morning brought forth to behold the ensuing light. My father was Sr. Allen Apsley, leiftenant of the Tower of London; my mother, his third wife, was Lucy, the youngest daughter of Sr. John St. John, of Lidiard Tregoz, in Wiltshire, by his second wife. My father had then living a sonne and a daughter by his former wives, and by my mother three sonns, I being her eldest daughter. The land was then att peace, (it being towards the latter end of the reigne of King James), if that quiettnesse may be call'd a peace, which was rather like the calme and smooth surface of the sea, whose darke womb is allready impregnated of a horrid tempest.' p. 2, 3.

She then draws the character of both her parents in a very graceful and engaging manner, but on a scale somewhat too large to admit of their being transferred entire into our pages. We give the following as a specimen of the style and execution.

'He was a most indulgent husband, and no lesse kind to his children; a most noble master, who thought it not enough to maintaine his servants honorably while they were with him, but, for all that deserv'd it, provided offices or settlements as for children. He was a father to all his prisoners, sweetning with such compassionate kindnesse their restraint, that the afliction of a prison was not felt in his dayes. He had a singular kindnesse for all persons that were eminent either in learning or armes; and when, through the ingratitude and vice of that age, many of the wives and chilldren of Queene Elizabeth's glorious captaines were reduc'd to poverty, his purse was their common treasury, and they knew not the inconvenience of decay'd fortunes till he was dead; many of those valliant seamen he maintain'd in prison, many he redeem'd out of prison and cherisht with an extraordinary bounty. He was severe in the regulating of his famely; especially would not endure the least immodest behaviour or dresse in any woman under his roofe. There was nothing he hated more then an insignificant gallant, that could *only make his leggs and prune himselfe, and court a lady*, but had not braines to employ himselfe in things more suteable to man's nobler sex. Fidelity in his trust, love and loyalty to his prince, were not the least of his vertues,

vertues, but those wherein he was not excell'd by any of his owne or succeeding times. He gave my mother a noble allowance of 300*l.* a yeare for her owne private expence, and had given her all her owne portion to dispose of how she pleas'd, as soone as she was married; which she suffer'd to encrease in her friend's hands; and what my father allow'd her she spent not in vanities, although she had what was rich and requisite upon occasions, but she lay'd most of it out in pious and charitable uses. Sr. Walter Rawleigh and Mr. Ruthin being prisoners in the Tower, and addicting themselves to chimistrie, she suffer'd them to make their rare experiments at her cost, partly to comfort and divert the poore prisoners, and partly to gaine the knowledge of their experiments, and the medicines to helpe such poore people as were not able to seeke to phisitians. By these means she acquir'd a greate deale of skill, which was very profitable to many all her life. She was not only to these, but to all the other prisoners that came into the Tower, as a mother. All the time she dwelt in the Tower, if any were sick she made them broths and restoratives with her owne hands, visited and tooke care of them, and provided them all necessaries: If any were aflicted she comforted them, so that they felt not the inconvenience of a prison who were in that place. She was not lesse bountifull to many poore widdowes and orphans, whom officers of higher and lower rank had left behind them as objects of charity. Her owne house was fill'd with distressed families of her relations, whom she supplied and maintain'd in a noble way.' p. 12—15.

For herself, being her mother's first daughter, unusual pains were bestowed on her education; so that, when she was seven years of age, she was attended, she informs us, by no fewer than eight several tutors. In consequence of all this, she became very grave and thoughtful; and withal very pious. But her early attainments in religion seem to have been by no means answerable to the notions of sanctity which she imbibed in her maturer years. There is something very innocent and natural in the Puritanism of the following passage.

'It pleas'd God that thro' the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinc'd that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study; and accordingly applied myselfe to it, and to practise as I was taught. I us'd to exhort my mother's maides much, and to turne their idle discourses to good subjects; but I thought, when I had done this on the Lord's day, and every day perform'd my due taskes of reading and praying, that then I was free to anie thing that was not sin, for I was not at that time convinc'd of the vanity of conversation which was not scandalously wicked; I thought it no sin to learne or heare wittie songs and amorous sonnetts or poems, and twenty things of that kind; wherein I was so apt that I became the confident in all the loves that were managed among my mother's young weomen, and there was none of them but had many lovers and some particular friends belov'd above the rest; among these I have '—— p. 17, 18.

Here the same spirit of austerity which dictated the preceding passage, had moved the fair writer, as the editor informs us, to tear away many pages immediately following the words with which it concludes—and thus to defraud the reader of the only love story with which he had any chance of being regaled in the course of this narrative. Although Mrs Hutchinson's abhorrence of any thing like earthly or unsanctified love, has withheld her on all occasions from the insertion of any thing that related to such feelings, yet it is not difficult, we think, to perceive that she was originally constituted with an extraordinary sensibility to all powerful emotions; and that the suppression of these deep and natural impressions has given a singular warmth and animation to her descriptions of romantic and conjugal affection. In illustration of this, we may refer to the following story of her husband's grandfather and grandmother, which she recounts with much feeling and credulity. After a very ample account of their mutual love and loveliness, she proceeds—

'But while the incomparable mother shin'd in all the humane glorie she wisht, and had the crowne of all outward felicity to the full, in the enioyment of the mutuall love of her most beloved husband, God in one moment tooke it away, and alienated her most excellent understanding in a difficult childbirth, wherein she brought forth two daughters which liv'd to be married, and one more that died, I think assoone or before it was borne. But after that, all the art of the best physitians in England could never restore her understanding. Yet she was not frantick, but had such a pretty deliration, that her ravings were more delightfull than other weomen's most rationall conversations. Upon this occasion her husband gave himselfe up to live retired with her, as became her condition. The daughters and the rest of the children as soon as they grew up were married and disperst. I think I have heard she had some children after that childbirth which distemper'd her, and then my lady Hutchinson must have bene one of them. I have heard her servants say, that even after her marriage, she would steale many melancholly houres to sitt and weepe in remembrance of her. Meanewhile her parents were driving on their age, in no lesse constancy of love to each other, when even that distemper which had estrang'd her mind in all things elce, had left her love and obedience entire to her husband, and he retein'd the same fondnesse and respect for her, after she was distemper'd, as when she was the glory of her age. He had two beds in one chamber, and she being a little sick, two weomen watcht by her, some time before she died. It was his custome, as soon as ever he unclos'd his eies, to aske how she did; but one night, he being as they thought in a deepe sleepe, she quietly departed towards the morning. He was that day to have gone a hunting,

hunting, his usuall exercise for his health; and it was his custome to have his chaplaine pray with him before he went out: the weomen, fearfull to surprize him with the ill newes, knowing his deare affection to her, had stollen out and acquainted the chaplaine, desiring him to informe him of it. Sr. John waking, did not that day, as was his custome, ask for her; but call'd the chaplaine to prayers, and ioyning with him, in the middst of the prayer, expir'd,—and both of them were buried together in the same grave. Whether he perceiv'd her death and would not take notice, or whether some strange sympathy in love or nature, tied up their lives in one, or whether God was pleas'd to exercise an unusuall providence towards them, preventing them both from that bitter sorrow which such separations cause, it can be but coniectur'd.' &c. p. 26—28.

The same romantic and suppressed sensibility is discernible, we think, in her whole account of the origin and progress of her husband's attachment to her. As the story is in many respects extremely characteristic of the times as well as the persons to which it relates, we shall make a pretty large extract from it. Mr Hutchinson had learned, it seems, to 'dance and vault' with great agility, and also attained to 'great mastery on the violl' at the University; and, upon his return to Nottingham, in the twentieth year of his age, spent much of his time with a licentious but most accomplished gentleman, a witty but prophane physician, and a pleasant but cynical old schoolmaster. In spite of these worldly associations, however, we are assured that he was a most godly and incorruptible person; and, in particular, proof against all the allurements of the fair sex, whom he frequently 'reproved, but in a handsome way of raillery, for their pride and vanity.' In this hopeful frame of mind, it was proposed to him to spend a few summer months at Richmond, where the young princes then held their court.

'Mr. Hutchinson considering this, resolv'd to accept his offer; and that day telling a gentleman of the house whither he was going, the gentleman bid him take heed of the place, for it was so fatall for love, that never any young disengag'd person went thither, who return'd againe free. Mr. Hutchinson laught at him; but he, to confirme it, told him a very true story of a gentleman, who not long before had come for some time to lodge there, and found all the people he came in company with, bewailing the death of a gentleweman that had lived there. Hearing her so much deplor'd, he made enquiry after her, and grew so in love with the description, that no other discourse could at first please him, nor could he at last endure any other; he grew desperately melancholly, and would goe to a mount where the print of her foote was cutt, and lie there pining and kissing of it all the day long, till att length death in some months space concluded his languishment. This story was very true; but Mr. Hutchinson was neither easie to believe it, nor frighted

frighted at the example; thinking himselfe not likely to make another.' p. 37, 38.

He goes accordingly to Richmond, and boards with his music-master; in whose house a younger sister of his future wife happened then to be placed,—she herself having gone into Wiltshire with her mother, with some expectation of being married before her return.

'This gentlewoman, that was left in the house with Mr Hutchinson, was a very child, her elder sister being at that time scarcely past it, but a child of such pleasantnesse and vivacity of spiritt, and ingenuity in the quallity she practis'd, that Mr. Hutchinson tooke pleasure in hearing her practise, and would fall in discourse with her. She having the keyes of her mother's house, some halfe a mile distant, would some times aske Mr Hutchinson, when she went over to walk along with her: one day when he was there, looking upon an odde byshelf, in her sister's closett, he found a few Latine bookes; asking whose they were, he was told they were her elder sister's, whereupon, enquiring more after her, he began first to be sorrie she was gone, before he had seene her, and gone upon such an account, that he was not likely to see her; then he grew to love to heare mention of her; and the other gentleweomen who had bene her companions, used to talke much to him of her, telling him how reserv'd and studious she was, and other things which they esteem'd no advantage; but it so much inflam'd Mr Hutchinson's desire of seeing her, that he began to wonder at himselfe, that his heart, which had ever had such an indifferency for the most excellent of weomenkind, should have so strong impulses towards a stranger he never saw.'—'While he was exercis'd in this, many days past not, but a foote-boy of my lady her mothers came to young Mrs. Apsley as they were at dinner, bringing newes that her mother and sister would in few dayes return; and when they enquir'd of him, whether Mrs. Apsley was married; having before bene instructed to make them believe it, he smiled, and pull'd out some bride laces, which were given at a wedding, in the house where she was, and gave them to the young gentlewoman and the gentleman's daughter of the house, and told them Mrs. Apsley bade him tell no news, but give them those tokens, and carried the matter so, that all the companie believ'd she had bene married. Mr. Hutchinson immediately turned pale as ashes, and felt a fainting to seize his spiritts, in that extraordinary manner, that finding himselfe ready to sinke att table, he was faine to pretend something had offended his stomach, and to retire from the table, into the garden, where the gentleman of the house going with him, it was not necessary for him to feigne sicknesse, for the distemper of his mind had infected his body with a cold sweate and such a dispersion of spiritt, that all the courage he could at present recollect was little enough to keep him allive. While she so ran in his thoughts, meeting the boy againe, he found out, upon a little stricter examination of him, that she was not married, and pleas'd himselfe in the hopes

hopes of her speedy returne, when one day, having bene invited by one of the ladies of that neighbourhood, to a noble treatement at Sion Garden, which a courtier, *that was her servant*, had made for her and whom she would bring, Mr. Hutchinson, Mrs. Apsley, and Mr. Coleman's daughter were of the partie, and having spent the day in severall pleasant divertisements, att evening they were att supper, when a messenger came to tell Mrs. Apsley her mother was come. She would immediately have gone, but Mr. Hutchinson, pretending civillity to conduct her home, made her stay 'till the supper was ended, of which he eate no more, now only longing for that sight, which he had with such perplexity expected. This at length he obteined; but his heart being prepossesst with his owne fancy, was not free to discerne how little there was in her to answer so greate an expectation. She was not ugly,—in a carelesse riding-habitt, she had a melancholly negligence both of herselfe and others, as if she neither affected to please others, nor tooke notice of anie thing before her; yet spite of all her indifferency, she was surpriz'd with some unusuall liking in her soule, when she saw this gentleman, who had haire, eies, shape, and countenance enough to begett love in any one at the first, and these sett of with a gracefull and generous mine, which promis'd an extraordinary person. Although he had but an evening sight of her he had so long desir'd, and that at disadvantage enough for her, yett the prevailing sympathie of his soule, made him thinke all his paynes well payd, and this first did whett his desire to a second sight, which he had by accident the next day, and to his ioy found she was wholly disengag'd from that treaty, which he so much fear'd had been accomplisht; he found withall, that though she was modest, she was accostable and willing to entertaine his acquaintance. This soone past into a mutuall friendship betweene them, and though she innocently thought nothing of love, yet was she glad to have acquir'd such a friend, who had wisedome and vertue enough to be trusted with her councells. Mr Hutchinson, on the other side, having bene told, and seeing how she shun'd all other men, and how civilly she entertain'd him, believ'd that a secret power had wrought a mutuall inclination betweene them, and dayly frequented her mother's house, and had the opportunitie of conversing with her in those pleasant walkes, which, at that sweete season of the spring, invited all the neighbouring inhabitants to seeke their ioyes; where, though they were never alone, yet they had every day opertunity for converse with each other, which the rest shar'd not in, while every one minded their owne delights.' p. 38—44.

Here the lady breaks off her account of this romantic courtship, as of 'matters that are to be forgotten as the vanities of youth, and not worthy mention among the greater transactions of their lives.' The consent of parents having been obtained on both sides, she was married at the age of eighteen.

'That day that the friends on both sides met to conclude the marriage, she fell sick of the small pox, which was many wayes a greate

greate triall upon him; first her life was allmost in desperate hazard, and then the disease, for the present, made her the most deformed person that could be seene, for a greate while after she recover'd; yett he was nothing troubled at it, but married her assoone as she was able to quitt the chamber, when the priest and all that saw her were affrighted to looke on her: but God recompenc'd his iustice and constancy, by restoring her, though she was longer then ordinary before she recover'd, as well as before.' p. 45, 46.

There is a good deal more of this affectionate and romantic style of writing throughout the book; but the shade of Mrs Hutchinson would not forgive us, if we were to detain the reader longer with these 'vanities of her youth.' We proceed, therefore, to graver matters.

We might cull many striking specimens of eloquence from her summary account of the English constitution and of the Reformation; but the following view of the changes which took place on the accession of James and of Charles, are more characteristic of the age and of the party to which she belongs.

'The honor, wealth, and glory of the nation, wherein Queene Elizabeth left it, were soone prodigally wasted by this thriftlesse heire, the nobillity of the land utterly debas'd by setting honors to publick sale, and conferring them on persons that had neither blood nor meritt fitt to weare, nor estates to beare up their titles, but were faine to invent proiects to pill * the people, and pick their purses for the maintenance of vice and lewdnesse. The generallity of the gentry of the land soone learnt the court fashion, and every greate house in the country became a sty of uncleannesse. To keepe the people in their deplorable security, till vengeance overtooke them, they were entertain'd with masks, stage playes, and sorts of ruder sports. Then began murther, incest, adultery, drunkennesse, swearing, fornication, and all sort of ribaldry, to be no conceal'd but countenanc'd vices; because they held such conformity with the court example.'—'And now the ready way to preferment there, was to declare an opposition to the power of godlinesse, under that name; so that their pulpitts might iustly be called the scorner's chair, those sermons only pleasing that flatter'd them in their vices, and told the poore king that he was Solomon,—that his sloth and cowardize, by which he betrey'd the cause of God and honour of the nation, was gospell meekenesse and peaceablenesse, for which they rays'd him up above the heavens, while he lay wallowing like a swine in the mire of his lust. He had a little learning,—and this they call'd the spiritt of wisedome, and so magnified him, so falsely flatter'd him, that he could not endure the words of truth and soundnesse, but rewarded these base, wicked, unfaithfull fawners with rich preferments, attended with pomps and titles, which heav'd them up above a humane heighth: with their pride their envie swell'd against the people of God, whom they began to proiect how they might roote out of the land; and when

---

* 'Pill—pillage, plunder.'

when they had once given them a name, whatever was odious or dreadfull to the king, that they fixt upon the Puritane, which, according to their character, was nothing but a factious hipocrite.' p. 59—61.

'The face of the court was much chang'd in the change of the king; for King Charles was temperate, chast, and serious; so that the fooles and bawds, mimicks and catamites of the former court grew out of fashion; and the nobillity and courtiers, who did not quite abandon their debosheries, had yet that reverence to the king, to retire into corners to practise them: men of learning and ingenuity in all arts were in esteeme, and receiv'd encouragement from the king; who was a most excellent iudge and a greate lover of paintings, carvings, gravings, and many other ingenuities, less offensive then the prophane abusive witt, which was the only exercise of the other court.' p. 65.

The characters of this King's counsellors are drawn, in general, with great force and liveliness; and with a degree of candour scarcely to have been expected in the widow of a regicide. We give that of Lord Strafford as an example.

'But there were two above all the rest, who led the van of the king's evill councellors, and these were Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, a fellow of meane extraction and arrogant pride, and the earl of Strafford, who as much outstript all the rest in favour as he did in abillities, being a man of deepe pollicy, sterne resolution, and ambitious zeale to keepe up the glory of his own greatnesse. In the beginning of this king's reigne, this man had bene a strong assertor of the liberties of the people, among whom he had gain'd himselfe an honorable reputation, and was dreadfull to the court party, who thereupon strew'd snares in his way, and when they found a breach at his ambition, his soule was that way enter'd and captivated. He was advanc'd first to be lord president of the councell in the north, to be a baron, after an earle, then deputy of Ireland; the neerest to a favourite of any man since the death of the duke of Buckingham, who was rays'd by his first master, and kept up by the second, upon no account of personall worth or any deserving abillities in him, but only upon violent and private inclinations of the princes; but the earle of Strafford wanted not any accomplishment that could be desir'd in the most serviceable minister of state: besides he having made himselfe odious to the people, by his revolt from their interest to that of the oppressive court, he was now oblieg'd to keepe up his owne interest with his new party, by all the mallitious practises that pride and revenge could inspire him with.' p. 68, 69.

One of Mrs Hutchinson's great talents, indeed, is the delineation of characters; and though her affections are apt to throw rather too glowing or too dark a tint over the canvas, yet this very warmth carries with it an impression of sincerity which adds not a little to the interest of her pictures. We pass by her short sketches,—of the Earl of Newcastle, who was 'a prince in his own

own country, till a foolish ambition of glorious slavery carried him to court,'—the Earl of Kingston, 'whose covetousness made him divide his sons between the two parties, till his fate drew him over to the King's side, where he behaved himself honourably, and died remarkably,'—the Earl of Clare, 'who was very often of both parties, and, I think, never advantaged either,'—and a great number of other persons, who are despatched with equal brevity; and venture to put her talents to a severer test, by trying whether they can interest the reader in a description of the burghers and private gentlemen of Nottingham, at the breaking out of these great disturbances.

'There were seven aldermen in the towne, and of these only alderman James, then mayor, own'd the parliament. He was a very honest, bold man, but had no more but a burgher's discretion; he was yett very well assisted by his wife, a woman of greate zeal and courage, and more understanding then weomen of her ranke usually have. All the devout people of the towne were very vigorous and ready to offer their lives and famelies, but there was not halfe the halfe of the towne that consisted of these. The ordinary civill sort of people coldly adher'd to the better; but all the debosht, and such as had liv'd upon the bishops persecuting courts, and bene the lacqueys of proiectors and monopolizers, and the like, they were all bitterly malignant. Yett God awed them, that they could not at that time hinder his people, whom he overrul'd some of their greatest enemies to assist, such as were one Chadwick and Plumptre, two who, at the first, put themselves most forward into the businesse.

'Plumptre was a doctor of phisick, an inhabitant of Nottingham, who had learning, naturall parts, and understanding enough to discerne betweene naturall civill righteousnesse and iniustice, but he was a horrible atheist, and had such an intollerable pride, that he brook'd no superiours, and having some witt, tooke the boldnesse to exercise it, in the abuse of all the gentlemen wherever he came.'—'This man had sence enough to approove the parliament's cause, in poynt of civill right, and pride enough to desire to breake the bonds of slavery, whereby the king endeavour'd to chaine up a free people; and upon these scores, appearing high for the parliament's interest, he was admitted into the consultations of those who were then putting the country into a posture of defence.

'Chadwick was a fellow of a most pragmaticall temper, and, to say truth, had strangely wrought himselfe into a station unfitt for him. He was at first a boy that scraped trenchers in the house of one of the poorest iustices in the county, but yet such a one as had a greate deale of formallity and understanding of the statute law, from whom this boy pick'd such ends of law, that he became first the iustice's, then a lawyer's, clearke. Then, I know not how, gott to be a parcell-iudge in Ireland, and came over to his owne country swell'd with the reputation of it, and sett on foote a base, obsolete, arbitrary court there, which the Conqueror

Conqueror of old had given to one Peverel, his bastard,' &c.—'When the king was in towne a little before, this man so insinuated into the court that, comming to kisse the king's hand, the king told him he was a very honest man; yet by flatteries and dissimulations he kept up his creditt with the godly, cutting his haire, and taking up a forme of godlinesse, the better to deceive. In some of the corrupt times he had purchas'd the honor of a barrister, though he had neither law nor learning, but he had a voluble tongue, and was crafty; and it is allmost incredible that one of his meane education and poverty should arrive to such things as he reacht. This basenesse he had, that all the iust reproaches in the world could not moove him, but he would fawne upon any man that told him of his villanies to his face, even at the very time. Never was a truer Judas, since Iscariott's time, then he; for he would kisse the man he had in his heart to kill; he naturally delighted in mischiefe and treachery, and was so exquisite a villaine, that he destroy'd those designes he might have thriven by, with overlaying them with fresh knaveries.' p. 110—113.

We have not room for many of the more favourable delineations with which theſe are contraſted; but we give the following ſhort ſketch of Mr Thornhagh, who ſeems to have been a great favourite of Mrs Hutchinſon's.

'Mr Francis Thornhagh, the eldest sonne of Sr. Francis Thornhagh, was a man of a most upright faithfull heart to God and God's people, and to his countrie's true interest, comprehended in the parliament's cause; a man of greater vallour or more noble daring fought not for them, nor indeed ever drew sword in any cause; he was of a most excellent good nature to all men, and zealous for his friend; he wanted councell and deliberation, and was sometimes too facile to flatterers, but had iudgment enough to discerne his errors when they were represented to him, and worth enough not to persist in an iniurious mistake because he had once entertained it.' p. 114.

This gallant gentleman afterwards fell at the battle of Preſton. Mrs Hutchinſon has given the following animated deſcription of his fate.

'In the beginning of this battle, the valliant Coll. Thornhagh was wounded to death. Being at the beginning of the charge on a horse as couragious as became such a master, he made such furious speed, to sett upon a company of Scotch lanciers, that he was singly engaged and mortally wounded, before it was possible for his regiment, though as brave men as ever drew sword, and too afectionate to their collonell, to be slack in following him, to come time enough to breake the furie of that body, which shamed not to unite all their force against one man. His soule was hovering to take her flight out of his body, but that an eager desire to know the successe of that battle, kept it within, till the end of the day, when the newes being brought him, he clear'd his dying countenance, and say'd, "I now

reioyce

reioyce to die, since God hath lett me see the overthrow of this perfidious enemy; I could not lose my life in a better cause, and I have the favour from God to see my blood aveng'd." So he died, with a large testimony of love to his souldiers, but more to the cause, and was by mercy remoov'd, that the temptations of future times might not prevaile to corrupt his pure soule. A man of greater courage and integritie fell not nor fought not in this glorious cause; he had also an excellent good nature, but easie to be wrought upon by flatterers, yett as flexible to the admonitions of his friends; and this virtue he had, that if sometimes a cunning insinuation prevail'd upon his easie faith, when his error was made knowne to him, notwithstanding all his great courage, he was readier to acknowledge and repaire, then to persue his mistake.' p. 289–90.

The moſt conſpicuous perſon by far, of the age to which Mrs Hutchinſon belongs, was Cromwell; and there is no character, accordingly, which ſhe appears to have ſtudied more, or better comprehended. Her work contains a great number of original anecdotes with regard to him; and with all the advantages which later times have derived from the collation of various authorities, and from conſidering, at a diſpaſſionate diſtance, the various turns of his policy, we doubt whether any hiſtorian has given a more juſt or ſatisfactory account of this extraordinary perſonage than this woman, who ſaw him only in the courſe of his obliquities, and through the varying medium of her own hopes and apprehenſions. The profound duplicity and great ambition of his nature, appear to have been very early detected by Colonel Hutchinſon, whoſe biographer gives this account of his demeanour to the Levellers and Preſbyterians, who were then at the height of their rivalry.

'These were they,' says she, speaking of the former, 'who first began to discover the ambition of Lieftenant-general Cromwell and his idolaters, and to suspect and dislike it. About this time, he was sent downe, after his victory in Wales, to encounter Hamilton in the north. When he went downe, the chiefe of these levellers following him out of the towne, to take their leaves of him, receiv'd such professions from him, of a spiritt bent to persue the same iust and honest things that they desir'd, as they went away with greate satisfaction,—'till they heard that a coachfull of *Presbyterian priests* comming after them, went away no lesse pleas'd; by which it was apparent he dissembled with one or the other, and by so doing lost his creditt with both.

'When he came to Nottingham, Coll. Hutchinson went to see him, whom he embrac'd with all the expressions of kindnesse that one friend could make to another, and then retiring with him, prest him to tell him what thoughts his friends, the levellers, had of him. The collonell, who was the freest man in the world from concealing truth from his friend, especially when it was requir'd of him in love and plainnesse, not only told him what others thought of him, but

what

what he himselfe conceiv'd, and how much it would darken all his glories, if he should become a slave to his owne ambition, and be guilty of what he gave the world iust cause to suspect, and therefore begg'd of him to weare his heart in his face, and to scorne to delude his enemies, but to make use of his noble courage, to maintaine what he believ'd iust, against all greate oposers. Cromwell made mighty professions of a sincere heart to him, but it is certeine that for this and such like plaine dealing with him, he dreaded the collonell, and made it his particular businesse to keepe him out of the armie; but the collonell never desiring command to serve himselfe, but his country, would not use that art he detested in others, to procure himselfe any advantage.' p. 285—287.

An after ſcene is ſtill more remarkable, and more characteriſtic of both the actors. After Cromwell had poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty, Colonel Hutchinſon came accidentally to the knowledge of a plot which had been laid for his aſſaſſination; and was moved, by the nobleneſs of his own nature, and his regard for the Protector's great qualities—though he had openly teſtified againſt his uſurpation, and avoided his preſence ſince the time of it—to give ſuch warning of it to Fleetwood, as might enable him to eſcape that hazard, but at the ſame time without betraying the names of any of the conſpirators.

After Coll. Hutchinson had given Fleetwood that caution, he was going into the country, when the protector sent to search him out with all the earnestnesse and haste that could possibly be, and the collonell went to him; who mett him in one of the galleries, and receiv'd him with open armes and the kindest embraces that could be given, and complain'd that the collonell should be so unkind as never to give him a visitt, professing how wellcome he should have bene, the most wellcome person in the land; and with these smooth insinuations led him allong to a private place, giving him thankes for the advertisement he had receiv'd from Fleetwood, and using all his art to gett out of the collonell the knowledge of the persons engag'd in the conspiracy against him. But none of his cunning, nor promises, nor flatteries, could prevaile with the collonell to informe him more then he thought necessary to prevent the execution of the designe; which when the protector perceiv'd, he gave him most infinite thankes for what he had told him, and acknowledg'd it open'd to him some misteries that had perplext him, and agreed so with other intelligence he had, that he must owe his preservation to him: "But," says he, "deare collonell, why will not you come in and act among us?" The collonell told him plainly, because he liked not any of his wayes since he broke the parliament, as being those which led to certeine and unavoydable destruction, not only of themselves, but of the whole parliament party and cause, and thereupon tooke occasion, with his usuall freedom, to tell him into what a sad hazard all things were put, and how apparent a way was made for the restitution of all former tiranny and bondage. Cromwell seem'd to receive this honest plainnesse with the greatest affection that could be, and acknowledg'd his precipitatenesse in some things, and *with teares* complain'd how Lambert had put him upon all those violent actions, for which he now accus'd him and sought his ruine. He expresst an earnest desire to restore the people's liberties, and to take and pursue more safe and sober councells, and wound up all with a very faire courtship of the collonell to engage with him, offering him any thing he would account worthy of him. The collonell told him, he could not be forward to make his owne advantage, by serving to the enslaving of his country. The other told him, he intended nothing more then the restoring and confirming the liberties of the good people, in order to which he would employ such men of honor and interest as the people should reioyce, and he should not refuse to be one of them. And after, with all his arts, he had endeavour'd to excuse his publique actions, and to draw in the collonell; he dismist him with such expressions as were publickely taken notice of by all his little courtiers then about him, when he went to the end of the gallery with the collonell, and there, embracing him, sayd allowd to him, " Well, collonell, satisfied or dissatisfied, you shall be one of us, for wee can no longer exempt a person so able and faithfull from the publique service, and you shall be satisfied in all honest things. " The collonell left him with that respect that became the place he was in; when immediately the same courtiers, who had some of them past him by without knowing him when he came in, although they had bene once of his familiar acquaintance, and the rest who had look'd upon him with such disdainfull neglect as those little people use to those who are not of their faction, now flockt about him, striving who should expresse most respect, and, by an extraordinary officiousnesse, redeeme their late slightings. Some of them desir'd he would command their service in any businesse he had with their lord, and a thousand such frivolous compliments, which the collonell smiled att, and quitting himselfe of them as soone as he could, made hast to returne into the country. There he had not long bene but that he was inform'd, notwithstanding all these faire shewes, the protector, finding him too constant to be wrought upon to serve his tirannie, had resolv'd to secure his person, least he should head the people, who now grew very weary of his bondage. But though it was certainly confirm'd to the collonell how much he was afraid of his honesty and freedome, and that he was resolv'd not to let him longer be att liberty, yet, before his guards apprehended the collonell, death imprison'd himselfe, and confin'd all his vast ambition and all his cruell designes into the narrow compasse of a grave. ' p. 340—342.

Two other anecdotes, one very discreditable to Cromwell, the other affording a striking proof of his bravery and knowledge of mankind, may be found at p. 308. & 316. But we dismiss the

the subject of this 'great bad man,' with the following eloquent representation of his government after he had attained the height of his ambition;—a representation in which the keen regrets of disappointed patriotism are finely mingled with an indignant contempt for those who submitted to tyranny, and a generous admission of the talents and magnanimity of the tyrant.

'In the interim Cromwell and his armie grew wanton with their power, and invented a thousand tricks of government, which, when nobody oppos'd, they themselves fell to dislike and vary every day. First he calls a parliament out of his owne pockett, himselfe naming a sort of godly men for every county, who meeting and not agreeing, a part of them, in the name of the people, give up the sovereignty to him. Shortly after he makes up severall sorts of mock parliaments, but not finding one of them absolutely for his turne, turn'd them off againe. He soone quitted himselfe of his triumvirs, and first thrust out Harrison, then tooke away Lambert's commission, and would have bene king but for feare of quitting his generallship. He weeded, in a few months time, above a hundred and fifty godly officers out of the armie, with whom many of the religious souldiers went off, and in their roome abundance of the king's dissolute souldiers were entertain'd, and the armie was almost chang'd from that godly religious armie, whose vallour God had crown'd with triumph, into the dissolute armie they had beaten, bearing yett a better name. His wife and children were setting up for principallity, which suited no better with any of them then scarlett on the ape; only, to speak the truth of himselfe, he had much naturall greatnesse, and well became the place he had usurp'd. His daughter Fleetewood was humbled, and not exalted with these things; but the rest were insolent fooles. Cleypoole, who married his daughter, and his son Henry, were two debauch'd ungodly cavaliers. Richard was a peasant in his nature; yet gentle and vertuous; but became not greatnesse. His court was full of sinne and vanity, and the more abominable, because they had not yett quite cast away the name of God, but prophan'd it by taking it in vaine upon them. True religion was now almost lost, even among the religious party, and hipocrisie became an epidemicall disease, to the sad griefe of Coll. Hutchinson, and all true-hearted Christians and Englishmen. Allmost all the ministers every where fell in and worshipt this beast, and courted and made addresses to him. So did the city of London, and many of the degenerate lords of the land, with the poore-spirited gentry. The cavaliers, in pollicy, who saw that while Cromwell reduc'd all the exercise of tirannicall power under another name, there was a doore open'd for the restoring of their party, fell much in with Cromwell, and heighten'd all his disorders. He at last exercis'd such an arbitrary power that the whole land grew weary of him, while he sett up a companie of silly meane fellows, call'd maior-generalls, as governors in every country. These rul'd according to their wills, by no law but what seem'd good in their owne eies, imprisoning men, obstructing the course of iustice betweene man and man, perverting right through partiallity, acquitting some that were guilty, and punishing some that were innocent as guilty. Then he exercis'd another proiect to rayse mony, by decimation of the estates of all the king's party, of which actions 'tis said Lambert was the instigator. At last he tooke upon him to make lords and knights; and wanted not many fooles, both of the armie and gentry, to accept of and strutt in his mock titles. Then the Earle of Warwick's grandchild and the Lord Falconbridge married his two daughters; such pittifull slaves were the nobles of those dayes. Att last Lambert, perceiving himselfe to have bene all this while deluded with hopes and promises of succession, and seeing that Cromwell now intended to confirme the government in his owne famely, fell off from him, but behav'd himselfe very pittifully and meanely, was turn'd out of all his places, and return'd againe to plott new vengeance at his house at Wimbleton, where he fell to dresse his flowers in his garden, and worke at the needle with his wife and his maides, while he was watching an oppertunity to serve againe his ambition, which had this difference from the protector's; the one was gallant and greate, the other had nothing but an unworthy pride, most insolent in prosperity, and as abiect and base in adversity.' p. 335—338.

In making these miscellaneous extracts, for the amusement of our readers, we are afraid that we have too far lost sight of the worthy Colonel, for whose honour the whole record was designed; and though the biography of a private person, however eminent, is seldom of much consequence to the general reader, except where it illustrates the manners of the times, or connects with the public history of the nation, there is something in this account of Colonel Hutchinson which appears to us deserving of notice with reference to both these particulars.

Soon after his marriage, he retired to his house at Owthorpe, where he took to the study of divinity; and having his attention roused to the state of public affairs, by the dreadful massacres of Ireland, in 1641, set himself diligently to read and consider all the disputes which were then set on foot between the King and Parliament; the result of which was, a steady conviction of the justice of the pretensions maintained by the latter, with a strong anxiety for the preservation of peace. His first achievement was, to persuade the parson of his parish to deface the images, and break the painted glass in the windows of his church, in obedience to an injunction of the Parliament; his next, to resist Lord Newark in an illegal attempt to carry off the ammunition belonging to the county, for the use of the King. His deportment upon this occasion, when he was only twenty-five years of age, affords a very singular proof of temper and firmness,—good breeding, and great powers of reasoning.

When

When the King set up his standard at Nottingham, Mr Hutchinson repaired to the camp of Essex, the parliamentary general; but ‘ did not then find a clear call from the Lord to join with him. ’ His irresolution, however, was speedily dissipated, by the persecutions of the Royalists, who made various efforts to seize him as a disaffected person. He accordingly began to consult with others in the same predicament; and having resolved to try to defend the town and castle of Nottingham against the assaults of the enemy, he was first elected governor by his associates, and afterwards had his nomination confirmed by Fairfax and by the Parliament. A great deal too much of the book is occupied with an account of the petty enterprises in which this little garrison was engaged; the various feuds and dissensions which arose among the different officers and the committees who were appointed as their council; the occasional desertion and treachery of various individuals, and the many contrivances, and sacrifices, and exertions, by which Colonel Hutchinson was enabled to maintain his post till the final discomfiture of the Royal party. This narrative contains, no doubt, many splendid examples of courage and fidelity on both sides; and for the variety of intrigues, cabals, and successful and unsuccessful attempts at corruption which it exhibits, may be considered as a complete miniature of a greater history. But the insignificance of the events, and the obscurity of the persons, take away all interest from the story; and our admiration of Colonel Hutchinson's firmness, and disinterestedness and valour, is scarcely sufficient to keep our attention alive through the languishing narrative of the obscure warfare in which he was employed.

It has often been remarked, and for the honour of our country can never be too often repeated, that history affords no example of a civil contest carried on for years at the point of the sword, and yet producing so little ferocity in the body of the people, and so few instances of particular violence or cruelty. No proscriptions—no executions—no sacking of cities, or laying waste of provinces—no vengeance wreaked, and indeed scarcely any severity inflicted upon those who were notoriously hostile, unless found actually in arms. Some passages in the wars of Henry IV., as narrated by Sully, approach to this character; but the horrible massacres with which that contest was at other stages attended, exclude it from all parallel with the generous hostility of England. This book is full of instances, not merely of mutual toleration, but of the most cordial friendship subsisting between individuals engaged in the opposite parties. In particular, Sir Allan Apsley, Mrs Hutchinson's brother, who commanded a troop of horse for the King, and was frequently employed in the same

same part of the country where Colonel Hutchinson commanded for the Parliament, is represented throughout as living on a footing of the greatest friendship and cordiality with this valiant relative. Under the protection of mutual passes, they pay frequent visits to each other, and exchange various civilities and pieces of service, without any attempt on either side to seduce the other from the cause to which his conscience had attached him. In the same way, the houses and families of various royalists are left unmolested in the district commanded by Colonel Hutchinson's forces; and officers conducting troops to the siege of the castle, are repeatedly invited to partake of entertainments with the garrison. It is no less curious and unique to find Mrs Hutchinson officiating as a surgeon to the wounded; and the Colonel administering spiritual consolation to some of the captives who had been mortally hurt by the men whom he had led into action.

After the termination of the war, Colonel Hutchinson was returned to Parliament for the town which he had so resolutely defended. He was appointed a member of the High Court of Justice, for the trial of the King;—and after long hesitation and frequent prayer to God to direct him aright in an affair of so much moment, he deliberately concurred in the sentence which was pronounced by it;—Mrs Hutchinson proudly disclaiming for him the apology, afterwards so familiar in the mouths of his associates, of having been overawed by Cromwell. His opinion of the protector, and of his government, has been pretty fully explained in the extracts we have already given. During that usurpation, he lived in almost unbroken retirement, at Owthorpe; where he occupied himself in superintending the education of his children, whom he himself instructed in music and other elegant accomplishments; in the embellishment of his residence by building and planting; in administering justice to his neighbours, and in making a very choice collection of painting and sculpture, for which he had purchased a number of articles out of the cabinet of the late King. Such were the liberal pursuits and elegant recreations of one whom all our recent histories would lead us to consider as a gloomy fanatic, and barbarous bigot!

Upon the death of the Protector, he again took his seat in Parliament, for the county of Nottingham; and was an indignant spectator of the base proceedings of Monk, and the headlong and improvident zeal of the people in the matter of the restoration. In the course of the debate on the course to be followed with the regicides, such of them as were members of the House rose in their places, and made such a defence of their conduct as they respectively thought it admitted of. The following passage is very curious, and gives us a high idea of the readiness and address of Colonel Hutchinson in a situation of extraordinary difficulty.

'When it came to Inglesbies turne, he, *with many teares,* profest his repentance for that murther; and told a false tale, how Cromwell held his hand, and forc'd him to subscribe the sentence, and made a most whining recantation; after which he retir'd, and another had almost ended, when Coll. Hutchinson, who was not there at the beginning, came in, and was told what they were about, and that it would be expected he should say something. He was surpriz'd with a thing he expected not; yet neither then, nor in any the like occasion, did he ever faile himselfe, but told them, "That for his actings in those dayes, if he had err'd, it was the inexperience of his age, and the defect of his iudgement, and not the mallice of his heart, which had ever prompted him to persue the generall advantage of his country more then his owne; and if the sacrifice of him might conduce to the publick peace and settlement, he should freely submit his life and fortunes to their dispose; that the vain expence of his age, and the greate debts his publick employments had runne him into, as they were testimonies that neither avarice nor any other interest had carried him on, so they yielded him iust cause to repent that he ever forsooke his owne blessed quiett, to embarque in such a troubled sea, where he had made shipwrack of all things but a good conscience; *and as to that particular action of the king, he desir'd them to believe he had that sence of it that befitted an Englishman, a christian, and a gentleman.*" Assoone as the collonell had spoken, he retir'd into a roome, where Inglesbie was, with his eies yet red, who had call'd up a little spirit to succeeed his whinings, and embracing Coll. Hutchinson, "O collonell," say'd he, "did I ever imagine wee could be brought to this? Could I have suspected it, when I brought them Lambert in the other day, this sword should have redeem'd us from being dealt with as criminalls, by that people, for whom we had so gloriously exposed ourselves." The collonell told him, he had foreseene, ever since those usurpers thrust out the lawfull authority of the land, to enthrone themselves, it could end in nothing else; but the integrity of his heart, in all he had done, made him as chearefully ready to suffer as to triumph in a good cause. The result of the house that day was to suspend Coll. Hutchinson and the rest from sitting in the house. Monke, after all his greate professions, now sate still, and had not one word to interpose for any person, but was as forward to sett vengeance on foot as any man.' p. 367—369.

He was afterwards comprehended in the act of amnesty, and with some difficulty obtained his pardon; upon which he retired to the country; but was soon after brought to town, in order to see if he could not be prevailed on to give evidence against such of the regicides as it was resolved to bring to trial. The Inglesby who is commemorated in the preceding extract, is known to have been the chief informer on that occasion; and Colonel Hutchinson understood, that it was by his instigation that he had been called as a witness. His deportment, when privately examined by the Attorney-General, is extremely characteristic, and includes a very fine and bitter piece of irony on his base associate, who did not disdain to save himself by falsehood and treachery. When pressed to specify some overt acts against the prisoners,

—'the collonell answered him, that in a businesse transacted so many years agoe, wherein life was concern'd, he durst not beare a testimony; having at that time bene so little an observer, *that he could not remember the least title of that most eminent circumstance, of Cromwell's forcing Coll. Inglesby to sett to his unwilling hand, which, if his life had depended on that circumstance, he could not have affirm'd.* "And then, Sir," sayd he, "if I have lost so great a thing as that, it cannot be expected lesse eminent passages remaine with me." p. 379.

It was not thought proper to examine him on the trial; and he was allowed, for about a year, to pursue his innocent occupations in the retirement of a country life. At last he was seized, upon suspicion of being concerned in some treasonable conspiracy; and though no formal accusation was *ever* exhibited against him, and no sort of evidence specified as the ground of his detention, was conveyed to London, and committed a close prisoner to the Tower. In this situation, he was treated with the most brutal harshness; all which he bore with great meekness of spirit, and consoled himself in the constant study of the Scriptures, and the society of his magnanimous consort, who, by the powerful intercession of her brother, was at last admitted to his presence. After an imprisonment of ten months, during which the most urgent solicitations could neither obtain his deliverance, nor the specification of the charges against him, he was suddenly ordered down to Sandown castle in Kent, and found, upon his arrival, that he was to be closely confined in a damp and unwholesome apartment, in which another prisoner, of the meanest rank and most brutal manners, was already established. This aggravated oppression and indignity, however, he endured with a cheerful magnanimity; and conversed with his wife and daughter, as she expresses it, 'with as pleasant and contented a spirit as ever in his whole life.' Sir Allan Apsley at last procured an order for permitting him to walk a certain time every day on the beach; but this mitigation came too late. A sort of aguish fever, brought on by damp and confinement, had settled on his constitution; and, in little more than a month after his removal from the Tower, he was delivered by death from the mean and cowardly oppression of those whom he had always disdained either to flatter or betray.

England should be proud, we think, of having given birth to Mrs Hutchinson and her husband; and chiefly because their characters

racters are truly and peculiarly English; according to the standard of those times in which national characters were most distinguishable. Not exempt, certainly, from errors and defects, they yet seem to us to hold out a lofty example of substantial dignity and virtue; and to possess most of those talents and principles by which public life is made honourable, and privacy delightful. Bigotry must at all times debase, and civil dissension embitter our existence; but, in the ordinary course of events, we may safely venture to assert, that a nation which produces many such wives and mothers as Mrs Lucy Hutchinson, must be both great and happy.

For the Reverend Julius Hutchinson, the editor of these Memoirs, it is easy to see that he is considerably perplexed and distracted, between a natural desire to extol these illustrious ancestors, and a fear of being himself mistaken for a republican. So he gives us alternate notes in laud of the English levellers, and in vituperation of the atheists and jacobins of France. From all this, our charity leads us to infer, that the said Reverend Julius Hutchinson has not yet obtained that preferment in the church which it would be convenient for him to possess; and that, when he is promoted according to his merits, he will speak more uniformly, in a manner becoming his descent. In the mean time, we are very much obliged to him for this book, and for the pains he has taken to satisfy us of its authenticity, and of the accuracy of the publication. We do not object to the old spelling, which occasions no perplexity; but when the work comes to another edition, we would recommend it to him to add a few dates on the margin, to break his pages into more paragraphs, and to revise his punctuation. He would make the book infinitely more saleable, too, if, without making the slightest variation in what is retained, he would omit about 200 pages of the siege of Nottingham, and other parish business; especially as the whole is now put beyond the reach of loss or corruption by the present full publication.

misconception in the popular estimate of the amount of the evil.

A very great proportion of all the curacies in England are filled with men to whom the emolument is a matter of subordinate importance. They are filled by young gentlemen who have recently left college, who of course are able to subsist as they have subsisted for seven years before, and who are glad to have an opportunity, on any terms, of acquiring a practical familiarity with the duties of their profession. They move away from them to higher situations as vacancies occur; and make way for a new race of ecclesiastical apprentices. To those men, the smallness of the appointment is a grievance of no very great magnitude; nor is it fair, with relation to them, to represent the ecclesiastical order as degraded by the indigence to which some of its members are condemned. With regard, again, to those who take curacies merely as a means of subsistence, and with the prospect of remaining permanently in that situation, it is certain that by far the greater part of them are persons born in a very humble rank in society, and accustomed to no greater opulence than that of an ordinary curate. There are scarcely any of those persons who have taken a degree in an university, and not very many who have resided there at all. Now, the son of a small Welsh farmer, who works hard every day for less than 40*l.* a year, has no great reason to complain of degradation or disappointment, if he get from 50*l.* to 100*l.* for a moderate portion of labour one day in seven. The situation, accordingly, is looked upon by these people as extremely eligible; and there is a great competition for curacies, even as they are now provided. The amount of the evil, then, as to the curates themselves, cannot be considered as very enormous, when there are so few who either actually feel, or are entitled to feel, much discontent on the subject. The late regulations about residence, too, by diminishing the total number of curates, will obviously throw that office chiefly into the hands of the well educated and comparatively independent young men, who seek for the situation rather for practice than

IRETON,

A Poem.

BY THOMAS BAILEY.
of Nottingham

"Let me alone, that I may speak, and let come on me what *will*."
JOB.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY JAMES RIDGWAY, PICADILLY.
MDCCCXXVII.

Price One Shilling and Sixpence.